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L. P. NOBLE, *Publisher.*

THE NATIONAL ERA.

OLD AUTOBIOGRAPHIES.

JOHN BUNYAN.

"Wouldst see
A man in the clouds, and hear him speak to thee?"

Who has not read Pilgrim's Progress? Who has not, in childhood, followed the wandering Christian on his way to the Celestial City? Who has not laid at night his young head on the pillow, to paint on the walls of darkness pictures of the Wicket Gate and the Archers, the Hill of Difficulty, the Lions and Giants, Doubting Castle and Vanity Fair, the sunny Delectable Mountains and the Shepherds, the Black River and the wonderful glory beyond it, and at last fallen asleep, to dream over the strange story; to hear the sweet welcomings of the sisters at the House Beautiful, and the song of birds from the window of that "upper chamber which opened towards the sunrising?" And who, looking back to the green spots in his childish experiences, does not bless the good Tinker of Elstow?

And who, that has reperused the Story of the Pilgrim at a maturer age, and felt the plummet of its truth sounding in the deep places of the soul, has not reason to bless the author for some timely warning or grateful encouragement? Where is the scholar, the poet, the man of taste and feeling, who does not, with Cooper,

"Even in transitory life's late day,
Revere the man where PILGRIM marks the road,
And guides the PROGRESS of the soul to God!"

We have just been reading, with no slight degree of interest, that simple but wonderful piece of autobiography entitled "GRACE ABOUNDING TO THE CHIEF OF SINNERS," from the pen of the author of Pilgrim's Progress. It is the record of a journey more terrible than that of the ideal Pilgrim; "truth stranger than fiction;" the painful upward struggling of a spirit from the blackness of despair and blasphemy, into the high, pure air of Hope and Faith. More earnest words were never written. It is the entire unveiling of a human heart; the tearing off of the fig-leaf covering of its sin. The voice which speaks to us from these old pages seems not so much that of a denizen of the world in which we live, as of a soul at the last solemn confessional. Shorn of all ornament, simple and direct as the contrition and prayer of childhood, when for the first time the Spectre of Sin stands by its bedside, the style is that of a man dead to self-gratification, careless of the world's opinion, and only desirous to convey to others, in all truthfulness and sincerity, the lesson of his inward trials, temptations, sins, weaknesses, and dangers; and to give glory to Him who had mercifully led him through all, and enabled him, like his own Pilgrim, to leave behind the Valley of the Shadow of Death, the snares of the Enchanted Ground, and the terrors of Doubting Castle, and to reach the land of Beulah, where the air was sweet and pleasant, and the birds sang and the flowers sprang up around him, and the Shining Ones walked in the brightness of the not distant Heaven. In the introductory pages he says: "I could have dipped into a style higher than this in which I have discoursed, and could have adorned all things more than here I have seemed to do; but I dared not. God did not play in tempting me; neither did I play when I sunk, as it were, into a bottomless pit, when the pangs of hell took hold on me; wherefore, I may not play in relating of them, but be plain and simple, and lay down the thing as it was."

This book, as well as "Pilgrim's Progress," was written in Bedford prison, and was designed especially for the comfort and edification of his "children, whom God had counted him worthy to beget in faith by his ministry." In his introduction, he tells them that, although taken from them, and tied up, "sticking, as it were, between the teeth of the lions of the wilderness," he once again, as before, from the top of Shemer and Hermon, so now, from the lion's den and the mountain of leopards, would look after them with fatherly care and desires for their everlasting welfare. "If," said he, "you have sinned against light; if you are tempted to blaspheme; if you are drowned in despair; if you think God fights against you; or if Heaven is hidden from your eyes, remember it was so with your father. But out of all the Lord delivered me."

He gives no dates; he affords scarcely a clew to his localities; of the man, as he worked, and ate, and drank, and lodged, of his neighbors and contemporaries, of all he saw and heard of the world about him, we have only an occasional glimpse, here and there, in his narrative. It is the story of his inward life only that he relates. What had time and place to do with one who trembled always with the awful consciousness of an immortal nature, and about whom fell alternately the shadows of hell and the splendors of heaven? We gather, indeed, from his record, that he was not an idle on-looker in the time of England's great struggle for freedom, but a soldier of the Parliament, in his young years, among the praying sworders and psalm-singing pikemen, the Great-hearts and Holdfasts whom he has immortalized in his allegory; but the only allusion which he makes to this portion of his experience is by way of illustration of the goodness of God in preserving him on occasions of peril.

He was born at Elstow, in Bedfordshire, in 1628; and, to use his own words, "his father's house was of that rank which is the meanest and most despised of all the families of the land." His father was a tinker, and the son followed the same calling, which necessarily brought him into association with the lowest and most depraved classes of English society. The estimation in which the tinker and his occupation were held, in the seventeenth century, may be learned from the quaint and humorous description of Sir Thomas Overburg: "The tinker," saith he, "is a movable, for he hath no abiding in one place; he seems to be devout, for his life is a continual pilgrimage, and sometimes, in humility, goes barefoot, therein making necessity a virtue; he is a gallant, for he carries all his wealth upon his back; or a philosopher, for he bears all his substance with him. He is always furnished with a song, to which his hammer, keeping tune, proves that he was the first founder of the kettle-drum; where the best ale is, there stands his music most upon crotchets. The companion of his travel is some foul, sun-burnt quean, that, since the terrible statute, has recanted gipsyism and is turned pedlaress. So marches he all over England, with his bag and baggage; his conversation is irreprovable, for he is always mending. He observes truly the statutes, and therefore had rather steal than beg. He is so strong an enemy of idleness, that in mending one hole he had rather make three than want work; and when he hath done, he throws the wallet of his faults behind him. His tongue is very voluble, which, with canting, proves him a linguist. He is entertained in every place, yet enters no farther than the door, to avoid suspicion. To conclude, if he escape Tyburn and Banbury, he dies a beggar."

Truly, but a poor beginning for a pious life was the youth of John Bunyan. As might have been expected, he was a wild, reckless, swearing boy, as his father doubtless was before him. "It was my delight," says he, "to be taken captive by the Devil. I had few equals, both for cursing and swearing, lying and blaspheming." Yet, in his ignorance and darkness, his powerful imagination early lent terror to the reproaches of conscience. He was scared, even in childhood, with dreams of hell and apparitions of devils. Troubled with fears of eternal fire, and the malignant demons who fed it in the regions of despair, he says that he often wished either that there was no hell, or that he had been born a devil himself, that he might be a tormenter rather than one of the tormented.

At an early age he appears to have married. His wife was as poor as himself, for he tells us that they had not so much as a dish or spoon between them; but she brought with her two books on religious subjects, the reading of which seems to have had no slight degree of influence on his mind. He went to church regularly, adored the priest and all things pertaining to his office, being, as he says, "overrun with superstition." On one occasion, a sermon was preached against the breach of the Sabbath by sports or labor, which struck him at the moment as especially designed for himself; but by the time he had finished his dinner, he was prepared to "shake it out of his mind, and return to his sports and gaming."

"But the same day," he continues, "as I was in the midst of a game of cat, and having struck it one blow from the hole, just as I was about to strike it the second time, a voice did suddenly dart from Heaven into my soul, which said, 'Wilt thou leave thy sins and go to heaven, or have thy sins and go to hell?' At this, I was put to an exceeding maze; wherefore, leaving my cat upon the ground, I looked up to Heaven, and was, as if I had, with the eyes of my understanding, seen the Lord Jesus look down upon me, as being very hotly displeased with me, and as if he did severely threaten me with some grievous punishment for those and other ungodly practices.

"I had no sooner thus conceived in my mind, but suddenly this conclusion fastened on my spirit, (for the former hint did set my sins again before my face,) that I had been a great and grievous sinner, and that it was now too late for me to look after Heaven; for Christ would not forgive me nor pardon my transgressions. Then, while I was thinking of it, and fearing lest it should be so, I felt my heart sink in despair, concluding it was too late; and therefore I resolved in my mind to go on in sin; for, thought I, if the case be thus, my state is surely miserable—miserable if I leave my sins, and but miserable if I follow them; I can but be damned; and if I must be so, I had as good be damned for many sins as be damned for few."

The reader of Pilgrim's Progress cannot fail here to call to mind the wicked suggestions of the Giant to Christian, in the Dangers of Doubting Castle.

"I returned," he says, "desperately to my sport again; and I well remember, that presently this kind of despair did so possess my soul, that I was persuaded I could never attain to other comfort than what I should get in sin; for Heaven was gone already, so that on that I must not think; wherefore, I found within me great desire to take my fill of sin, that I might taste the sweetness of it; and I made as much haste as I could to fill my belly with its delicates, lest I should die before I had my desires; for that I feared greatly. In these things, I protest before God, I lie not, neither do I frame this sort of speech; these were really, strongly, and with all my heart, my desires; the good Lord, whose mercy is unsearchable, forgive my transgressions."

One day, while standing in the street, cursing and blaspheming, he met with a reproof which startled him. The woman of the house in front of which the wicked young tinker was standing, herself, as he remarks, "a very loose, ungodly wretch," protested that his horrible profanity made her tremble; that he was the ungodliest fellow for swearing she had ever heard, and able to spoil all the youth of the town who came in his company. Struck by this wholly unexpected rebuke, he at once abandoned the practice of swearing; although previously he tells us that "he had never known how to speak, unless he put an oath before and another behind."

The good name which he gained by this change was now a temptation to him. "My neighbors," he says, "were amazed at my great conversion from prodigious profaneness to something like a moral life and sober man. Now, therefore, they began to praise, to commend, and to speak well of me, both to my face and behind my back. Now I was, as they said, become godly; now I was become a right honest man. But oh! when I understood those were their words and opinions of me, it pleased me mighty well; for though as yet I was nothing but a poor painted hypocrite, yet I loved to be talked of as one that was truly godly. I was proud of my godliness, and, indeed, I did all I did either to be seen of or well spoken of by men; and thus I continued for about a twelvemonth or more."

The tyranny of his imagination at this period is seen in the following relation of his abandonment of one of his favorite sports:

"Now you must know, that before this I had taken much delight in ringing, but my conscience beginning to be tender, I thought such practice was but vain, and therefore forced myself to leave it; yet my mind hankered; wherefore, I would go to the steeple-house and look on, though I durst not ring; but I thought this did not become religion neither; yet I forced myself, and would look on still. But quickly after, I began to think, 'How if one of the bells should fall?' Then I chose to stand under a main beam, that lay overthwart the steeple, from side to side, thinking here I might stand sure; but then I thought again, should the bell fall with a swing, it might first hit the wall, and then, rebounding upon me, might kill me for all this beam. This made me stand in the steeple door; and now, thought I, I am safe enough; for if a bell should then fall, I can slip out behind these thick walls, and so be preserved notwithstanding.

"So after this I would yet go to see them ring, but would not go any farther than the steeple door. But then it came in my head, 'How if the steeple itself should fall?' And this thought (it may, for aught I know, when I stood and looked on) did continually so shake my mind, that I durst not stand at the steeple door any longer, but was forced to flee, for fear the steeple should fall upon my head."

About this time, while wandering through Bedford in pursuit of employment, he chanced to see three or four poor old women sitting at a door, in the evening sun, and, drawing near them, heard them converse upon the things of God; of His work in their hearts; of their natural depravity; of the temptations of the Adversary; and of the joy of believing, and of the peace of reconciliation. The words of the aged women found a response in the soul of the listener. "He felt his heart shake," to use his own words; he saw that he lacked the true tokens of a Christian. He now forsook the company of the profane and licentious, and sought that of a poor man who had the reputation of piety, but, to his grief, he found him "a devilish ranter, given up to all manner of uncleanness; he would laugh at all exhortations to sobriety, and deny that there was a God, an angel, or a spirit."

"Neither," he continues, "was this man only a temptation to me, but, my calling lying in the country, I happened to come into several people's company, who, though strict in religion formerly, yet were also drawn away by these ranters. These would also talk with me of their ways, and condemn me as illegal and dark; pretending that they only had attained to perfection, that could do what they would, and not sin. Oh! these temptations were suitable to my flesh, I being but a young man, and my nature in its prime; but God, who had, as I hope, designed me for better things, kept me in the fear of his name, and did not suffer me to accept such cursed principles."

At this time he was sadly troubled to ascertain whether or not he had that faith which the Scriptures spake of. Travelling one day from Elstow to Bedford, after a recent rain, which had left pools of water in the path, he felt a strong desire to settle the question, by commanding the pools to become dry, and the dry places to become pools. Going under the hedge, to pray for ability to work the miracle, he was struck with the thought, that if he failed he should know, indeed, that he was a castaway, and give himself up to despair. He dared not attempt the experiment, and went on his way, to use his own forcible language, "tossed up and down between the devil and his own ignorance."

Soon after, he had one of these visions which foreshadowed the wonderful dream of his Pilgrim's Progress. He saw some holy people of Bedford on the sunny side of an high mountain, refreshing themselves in the pleasant air and sunlight, while he was shivering in cold and darkness, amidst snows and never-melting ices, like the victims of the Scandinavian hell. A wall compassed the mountain, separating him from the blessed, with one small gap or doorway, through which, with great pain and effort, he was at last enabled to work his way into the sunshine, and sit down with the saints, in the light and warmth thereof.

But now a new trouble assailed him. Like Milton's fallen spirits in Pandemonium, who sat apart,

"And reasoned of foreknowledge, will, and fate,"

he grappled with one of these great questions which have always perplexed and baffled human inquiry, and upon which much has been written to little purpose. He was tortured with an anxiety to know whether, according to the Westminster formula, he was elected to salvation or damnation. His old adversary vexed his soul with evil suggestions, and even quoted scripture to enforce them. "It may be you are not elected," said the Tempter, and the poor tinker thought the supposition altogether too probable. "Why, then," said Satan, "you had as good leave off, and strive no farther; for if, indeed, you should not be elected and chosen of God, there is no hope of your being saved; for it is neither in him that willeth nor in him that runneth, but in God who showeth mercy." At length when, as he says, he was about giving up the ghost of all his hopes, this passage fell with weight upon his spirit: "Look at the generations of old, and see; did ever any trust in God, and were confounded?" Comforted by these words, he opened his Bible to note them, but the most diligent search and inquiry of his neighbors failed to discover them. At length, his eye fell upon them in the Apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus. This, he says, somewhat doubted him at first, as the book was not canonical; but in the end he took courage and comfort from the passage. "I bless God," he says, "for that word; it was good for me. That word doth still oftentimes shine before my face."

A long and weary struggle was now before him. "I cannot," he says, "express with what longings and breathings of my soul I cried unto Christ to call me. Gold! could it have been gotten by gold, what would I have given for it. Had I a whole world, it had all gone ten thousand times over for this, that my soul might have been in a converted state. How lovely now was every one in my eyes, that I thought to be converted men and women. They shone, they walked like a people who carried the broad seal of Heaven with them."

With what force and intensity of language does he portray in the following passage the reality and earnestness of his agonizing experience:

"While I was thus afflicted with the fears of my own damnation, there were two things would make we wonder: the one was, when I saw old people hunting after the things of this life, as if they should live here always; the other was, when I found professors much distressed and cast down, when they met with outward losses; as of husband, wife, or child. Lord, thought I, what is seeking after carnal things by some, and what grief in others for the loss of them! If they so much labor after and shed so many tears for the things of this present life, how am I to be bemoaned, pitied, and prayed for! My soul is dying, my soul is damning. Were my soul but in a good condition, and were I but sure of it, ah! how rich should I esteem myself, though blessed but with bread and water! I should count these but small afflictions, and should bear them as little burdens. 'A wounded spirit who can bear!'"

He looked with envy, as he wandered through the country, upon the birds in the trees, the hares in the preserves, and the fishes in the streams. They were happy in their brief existence, and their death was but a sleep. He felt himself alienated from God, a discord in the harmonies of the universe. The very rooks which fluttered around the old church spire seemed more worthy of the Creator's love and care than himself. A vision of the infernal fire, like that glimpse of hell which was afforded to Christian by the Shepherds, was continually before him, with its "rumbling noise, and the cry of some tormented, and the scent of brimstone." Whithersoever he went, the glare of it scorched him, and its dreadful sound was in his ears. His vivid but disturbed imagination lent new terrors to the awful figures by which the sacred writers conveyed the idea of future retribution to the Oriental mind. Bunyan's World of Wo, if it lacked the colossal architecture and solemn vastness of Milton's Pandemonium, was more clearly defined; its agonies were within the pale of human comprehension; its victims were men and women, with the same keen sense of corporeal suffering which they possessed in life; and who, to use his own terrible description, had "all the loathed variety of hell to grapple with—fire unquenchable, a lake of choking brimstone, eternal chains, darkness more black than night, the everlasting gnawing of the worm, the sight of devils, and the yells and outcries of the damned." J. G. W.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

For the National Era.

MONEY vs. HUMANITY.—No. 1.

Minds of democratic impulses and humane sympathies have been much tried to find the doctrine, that "Man is of more value than money," treated so unceremoniously, and in practice discarded, as a sort of Utopian theory, not to be thought of seriously one moment. Reformers, who are of necessity far in advance of their age, look upon politicians and shrewd men of worldly policy as a species of moral monsters, who have inherited only the vices and evil tendencies of their race. That these men should, in all their business, and even religious activities, place *money first*, and humanity afterwards, shocks the reformer, and he thenceforth casts them out as heretics and unbelievers in man's high and immortal destiny. He does not perceive that this conduct is the outspoken philosophy of the age. He often forgets, with all his purity of mind and singleness of purpose, that the same pair of glasses will not fit all eyes. He supposes all men to occupy his *see stand*, and that the same objects ought to make the same impression upon all minds. He is too apt to forget that his zeal in the cause of humanity is the direct result of new light breaking upon his own hitherto beclouded vision.

To the Abolitionist, the conduct of political parties and legislative bodies, in practically preferring the *appendages and accidents* of man to his humanity, has seemed unaccountably strange, and perverse beyond comparison, in enlightened communities. A careful examination of the history of the struggle for the mastery between money and humanity, will show the root of the evil, and where the blow should be struck.

It is not common for men to forsake the teachings of youth, to cast out as evil the precepts and examples of parents and early instructors; and, above all, would it be strange for the business man or legislator to abjure the usages and practical philosophy of his ancestors, grown hoary with centuries. They feel a kind of awe come over them, as they contemplate the perfection and wonderful adaptation of the civil institutions bequeathed to them by their illustrious forefathers; and, should they question their infallibility, would fear the angry spiritual presence of those *mighty shades*, to frown upon their sacrilegious deeds and vile degeneracy. It takes a bold and fearless mind, battling for the true and the right, to examine these legal tissues and cobwebs, founded upon precepts and examples of barbarous and semi-civilized nations, to "the existence whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary."

The sin of magnifying the appendages of man beyond and above the man himself, does not belong peculiarly to this generation or age. In fact, the relative importance of money and humanity has, with all nations, in every age, been practically decided in favor of money. Whatever would afford the means of gratifying his animal appetites, passions, or pleasures, or enable him to satiate his love of power, it has ever been the great strife of man to possess. And money, from its representing everything else, and its convertibility into every other species of known property, has made it the only necessary possession of man, after which, all other things follow at the nod of its sovereign power. The earliest human records are those of the conflict between avarice and liberty. One of the earliest of these, is the sale of Joseph, the great grandson of Abraham, for thirty pieces of silver; and Holy Writ records the triumph of mammon over humanity on almost every page. The Ten Commandments were thundered from Mount Sinai, in the presence of Deity, to rebuke this profanation of the divine image.

In the earliest times, before the precious metals were used as money, or when the precious metals were too limited in quantity, different animals, and often men, were used as the standard of value. The Athenians used oxen, and the Romans sheep, as currency. In the time of Cæsar, lands were made a legal tender in payment of debts. In Britain, A. D. 997, the Saxons used what they called "*living money*," such as slaves, oxen, horses, &c. The price of a man, as legal currency, was about $12.50, a horse, $7.75. But in the days of the Crusaders, the price of a war horse was three slaves; and this "living money" excited the avarice of the aspirant after riches, and made all other desires of his heart rotate about this idolatrous passion, as if his greedy eye had been fixed upon the purest "mint drops." Semiramis, the wife of Belus, built the city of Babylon, and, in it, the stupendous temple of Jupiter, or Belus, in which she placed the statues of Jupiter, Juno, and Rhea, all of fine beaten gold. The statues of Jupiter and Rhea were each forty feet in height, and weighed a thousand Babylonian talents; that of Juno weighed eight hundred talents; and besides these statues, there was an altar forty feet long and fifteen broad, upon which there were cups, censers, and drinking vases, all of pure gold, and weighing two thousand and six hundred talents. This mass of gold, as calculated by the Abbe Barthelemy, would amount to fifty millions of dollars.

But, though we can estimate the amount of gold, who but an archangel can count the sighs, and groans, and bitter anguish, that wrung the life-blood from human hearts, in the toil of its accumulation! Crœsus, King of Lydia, and Pytheus, the ruler of a petty State in Phrygia, had accumulated untold sums of gold and silver, by the oppression of their subjects; and the story of the means used by the wife of the latter, to cure him of his passion for gold, seeking which, the lives of his subjects were sacrificed by famine and toil, has been too often told to be again repeated. Aristotle tells us, that one Grecian city, making war on its neighbor city, exulted in its captives as merchandise and a source of speedy gain. The Spartans, from their peculiar institutions, were not allowed to sell or export their slaves, but they were permitted to be set up as a mark for their young men to shoot at to perfect themselves in archery, as also to serve for amusement; and, when the slaves had become too numerous, they were put to death by a general massacre in the night. Here we see the Spartans grasping their conquered Helots, not as an article of traffic, but from the same principle—the love of power, of ease, and personal gratification. The Romans, Germans, Saxons, and many other nations, "constituted money a satisfaction for injuries committed, and for the sufferings due to guilt." Money with all these nations was held in greater estimation and higher reverence than humanity or any of its rights, and therefore was considered the best equivalent for the most horrible crimes. The life of a man was well atoned for by the murderer, if the coffers of the prince were thereby increased. The twelve tables of the Roman law, collected about 500 years B. C., gave the creditor power over his debtor, in case he did not pay, either to sell him as a slave for life or put him to death; and if there were several creditors, he might, at their election, be sold beyond the Tiber, or his body cut into pieces. This money-worship of the Romans, like Aaron's rod, swallowed up and trampled all other rights in the dust. Through the omnipotent power of this *base money god*, natural affection, the most tender tie that knits heart with heart, was nearly blotted out from the tablet of human memory. The father was empowered to sell his children, the warrior his captive. Its influence carried slavery "into the bosom of every Roman family—into the conditions of every contract. Its slave market was filled with men of every complexion and every clime."

In the sixteenth century, when, in the Netherlands, despotism seized possession of the civil courts, and invested a commission with arbitrary power over life and property, and soon followed this by arbitrary taxation, the arbitrary levying of the tenth penny fired the people with more enthusiastic and determined resistance, than all the terrors of the tribunal of blood. Thus inconsistent and infatuated man has always made less resistance when the Image of God was to be trampled on, than when an insult was offered to his golden idol.

The great Christian philosopher, John Locke, in his treatise on civil government, written in the latter part of the seventeenth century, shows us how exalted were the views of the best men of that day. He defines "political power to be the right of making laws for regulating and preserving property." His mind seems never to have had a conception of anything higher or nobler than money; and this was the distinguishing feature of his celebrated model of government for the colony of South Carolina. This model, he and his noble patron, the Earl of Shaftesbury, vainly imagined would live forever, and be esteemed the most perfect form of civil government for mankind. But the simple colonists, whose minds had been emancipated from the money worship of the old world by the unrestrained liberty of the new, thought a government of their own making, in which their personal rights should be first secured, would be more congenial to their wants; and the government of Locke perished before it had a legal existence.

Acting on this idea, that Government was instituted for the benefit of property, England monopolized to herself the entire slave trade, and protected the traffic against other nations by the thunders of her cannon. The Assiento was formed to carry on the trade in human beings more vigorously, and Queen Anne of England and Philip V of Spain were the largest stockholders.

Perhaps it would be too small an estimate, that, from 1676 to 1776, England stole from Africa over 3,000,000 of men, women, and children; and that one-eighth of these perished from the horrors of the passage, and were thrown into the Atlantic; yet, regarding everything as property which the power and rapacity of the Government could hold and defend as such, the people of England uttered no remonstrance to this horrible barbarity.

E. W. S.

BUFFALO, *March* 13, 1847.

For the National Era.

THE MEXICAN WAR.

In connection with the subject of war and international disputes, there is a sentiment which we frequently hear uttered by our people, and which we not unfrequently see paraded as a motto on many of our political banners, which we cannot approve of, and which, also, we believe to be decidedly immoral and reprehensible. It is that sentiment which is contained in the assertion—"Our country, right or wrong!" That is, our country *because* it is our country; or, in other words, ourself *because* it is ourself; which our readers will perceive is the doctrine of selfishness, and not that noble doctrine of self-sacrifice which Christ taught while here on earth. Now, we admit that to many persons it may appear very singular that we should not always favor our own country; but to us it seems of infinitely greater importance, *always to encourage and sustain what is right.* Indeed, as we have already intimated, we are willing to go still farther, and say, that *when* wrong, we cannot *rightfully* argue in favor of *continuing* ourselves in the wrong; much less, then, can any one say, with justice, that we should *fight*, or *even argue* for our country, *in like circumstances of wrong.* But if it is deemed brave and commendable by many men *to defend their errors*, how much nobler and more manly should *we*, who profess to be Christians, consider it, to openly acknowledge our faults and rectify our blunders and imperfections. God, we must always think, will never frown upon our opposition to individual or national wrongs; but, on the contrary, will smile upon and reward us, when, *for the sake of the right*, we are *unjustly* exposed to the censures of men. But no one, we think, should allow any degree of censure, however disagreeable, to prevent them from performing their conscientious duties; and it is our conscientious duty, we believe, always to stand firmly and unhesitatingly in favor of rectitude and justice.

From the foregoing remarks, it will be seen that we are opposed to any further prosecution of this Mexican war. To us, therefore, the incessant cry of our people for the use of more vigorous measures and a greater number of men against the Mexicans, is an *immoral* cry, which but speaks the low and corrupted state of public feeling in our country, in regard to this question.

"What course, then," it may be asked by some indignant partisan of the Administration, "what course, then, would we advise our Government to pursue?" To *our Government*, then, we would say: "Recall your troops; acknowledge your crimes and errors in the face of Christendom; and allow to Mexico her rights and privileges, by entering into a fair and honorable negotiation with her." Such a course, if *consistently pursued*, we have little doubt, would exalt our nation in the esteem and regard of every good man living. And after having given the above advice to our rulers, to *our people* we would say: "Impeach your public officers who have thus *wantonly* and *recklessly* brought you into these difficulties; and elect others in their places, who will not only be more careful of your honor, but who will also take greater care of your true interests and welfare." Were this done in the present emergency of our affairs, we should have a noble precedent, as an example, to appeal to; which would be, through coming time, of the highest conservative value to our institutions. But, on the contrary, if the nation should sanction, or allow to pass by uncensured, this *unconstitutional* proceeding of the President, we shall have every reason to doubt the future safety of the Republic; for, in all ages, wherever the love of military fame has gained the ascendency in the affairs of nations, the liberties of the people have been sacrificed, and their morals corrupted. It was so in Rome; and, if we follow Rome's example, by pursuing our present Mexican conquests, it may be so with us. As an *inevitable* consequence of this war, and of a further prosecution of it, we shall have an *immense debt* forced upon the nation, which will exhaust our wealth and dishearten our people. The debt of England, the principal part of which was incurred during her long and bloody wars, is now almost crushing her to the earth, mighty as are her powers and enterprising spirit. And it may be that time will yet show us that this debt will be the cause of her ruin. Seeing, then, the disastrous consequences of war upon nations, our people will be more than blind to their duties, if they allow themselves to be plunged into still further evils for the conquest of territory. But even admitting the soundness of our views, it may be said that their impracticability would be a sufficient reason for disregarding them. But we think not; for it is only by holding up before the people a high standard of excellence, that any great good can be produced in society.

It would be folly, we admit, to expect either our people or our President to pursue the honorable and high-minded course which we have above pointed out to them. But it is the duty, we believe, of all amiable and true-hearted men to take a decided stand in boldly proclaiming their convictions on the subject of this war. It is only in this way that we can stem, or turn back, the current which is already rolling so strongly in favor of crime and immorality. We are aware that it is the general opinion of our people, that the most speedy and effectual way of terminating this war, is by more vigorously prosecuting it. Having once got fairly into the difficulty, it is thought, we presume, that going further into the wrong is to bring us out of it; and in consequence of this conviction, our presses, losing sight of the injustice and cruelty of such a course, are everywhere seen lauding the employment of still further means for the achievement of new and greater victories against the Mexicans. But this is all wrong. As well, and, we think, with equal plausibility, might the robber, by way of justification of himself, urge, when arrested for murder, that, in order to secure his own safety, he was *forced* to take the *life* of the stranger whom he had already *robbed*. And what kind of an excuse, we ask, would this be considered in a court of justice? But it is in the same way, and with no greater reason, that, having become fully involved in this struggle with Mexico, robber-like, we are now urging that our soldiers should cut the throats of still more Mexicans, in order that we may be saved from still greater disasters. But such arguments and language we deem a disgrace to any *Christian* nation which is forced to resort to them as a plea for its actions. But the thing is too plain to require any argument at our hands; and we shall therefore dismiss it without further ceremony.

It seems to us that there can be no desire on the part of our Government to do what is right in this matter; else should we soon cease to hear from Mexico of mangled men torn to pieces in the deadly conflict of armies.

In regard to the recalling of our troops, and the public acknowledgment of our errors, we are conscious that many, and perhaps a large majority of persons, would consider this beneath the dignity of our nation. *Such* persons always hold it to be more manly and noble to defend an unjust cause, than candidly and honorably to admit our weaknesses and imperfections. But, in the eye of *reason* and *justice*, how different must be the case! Individuals who are governed by these latter motives would *scorn* to build up or secure their defence by any other means than those of the most upright and generous character. Such men would rather die, reviled and persecuted, than for a moment condescend to the baseness of tampering with their consciences. And such have been all the *true* martyrs, who have died in the sublime cause of liberty and virtue, in every age of the world.

Believing, therefore, our views to be sound, and such as would be of great value to the nation if generally adopted, we have taken the pains to write them out, for the careful and conscientious examination of our readers? And, in conclusion, we cannot refrain from expressing the hope, that our Government and people may soon come to see and feel the unrighteousness of our present attempt at the conquest of Mexico. We close, then, by giving utterance to the prayer, that the day may not be far distant when "Peace shall reign on earth as it is in heaven." O. H. J.

PHILADELPHIA, *March* 22, 1847.

For the National Era.

THE CONSTITUTION AND SLAVERY.

HONEOYE, ONTARIO CO., N. Y., *March* 7, 1847.

MR. EDITOR: In the National Era of February 25 you have expressed an anxiety to ascertain the views of the great body of Liberty men on the constitutionality of slavery. I cannot speak in the name of the Liberty party, nor affirm what may be the views of the great body of its members; yet I think I can give your readers some items of information to assist them in their estimates, and that I can represent the views of a large and increasing portion of the Liberty party in the North and East, particularly in the State of New York. And I agree with you, that "it is time we understood one another, and that the public should know what constitutional ground the Liberty party occupies," so far as the fact is matured, and can be ascertained. I further agree with you, that "declarations of great constitutional principles" should not be received or promulgated, without careful, deliberate examination. The growth of the opinions I hold have not, until recently, been rapid; nor have they been adopted by their principal advocates without much scrutiny and deliberation.

You err, I conceive, in attributing the position of those among us who deny the constitutionality of slavery to the controversy between Mr. Garrison and other Abolitionists, or to the position of the Liberty party in respect to that controversy. The discussion was of much earlier origin. The first appearance of the declaration of the convention that formed the American Anti-Slavery Society, (at which I was present as a member,) in December, 1833, gave rise to colloquial discussions; and individuals, at that early day, expressed their dissent from its concessions, or hesitancy in respect to them. It was not long before the discussion, by way of hints and inquiries, crept into the anti-slavery publications, and occasionally enlivened a speech at a convention. I could name a number of individuals who held, more or less distinctly, the views afterwards more conspicuously broached as early as 1834–'5. The Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine, for January, 1837, contained an able article from the late N. P. Rogers, Esq., of New Hampshire, a lawyer of high standing, in which he threw out, in his peculiarly terse and vigorous style, the outlines of the argument against the constitutionality of slavery, that has since been filled up by other writers. At the September anniversary of the New York State Anti-Slavery Society, the same year, at Utica, Alvan Stewart, Esq., an eminent member of the New York bar, presented an argument to the same point. This he presented again to the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in New York city, in May, 1838. It became the subject of much discussion; was published and extensively circulated and read. All this was *before* the organization of the Liberty party at Albany, April 1, 1840, and the disruption in the American Anti-Slavery Society at New York city the May following. The discussion was never more earnest than in 1838 and 1839, *before* the division between Mr. Garrison and other Abolitionists, either in respect to political action or other measures. The principal opponents of Mr. Stewart, including Hon. William Jay, have never acted with the *Garrison* party, nor have they been very earnestly enlisted in the *Liberty* party. Mr. Rogers went with the "old organization," and, though he afterwards had a sharp contention with Mr. Garrison, he never sympathized with the Liberty party. Lysander Spooner, Esq., of Massachusetts, whose "Unconstitutionality of Slavery" is in such high repute, has never belonged either to the Liberty party, nor to any other class of Abolitionists, technically so called, nor has he ever been active against slavery, otherwise than in the writing of his very cool, candid, and logical argument.

These facts ought, I think, to disabuse yourself and your readers of the impression that the views in question have been generated in the heat of party debate, or resorted to in that kind of self-defence which sometimes is witnessed, and which you have supposed in this case.

How the Garrisonians have come to take their strong ground in favor of the ultra pro-slavery constructions of the Constitution, they can, *perhaps*, best explain for themselves. And yet I may be permitted to state my own impressions concerning the matter. The *leaders* of that party, it is known, not only took strong ground against the Liberty party, but, as members of their "*Non-Resistant Society*," spared no pains to convince Abolitionists of the inherent sinfulness of all penal law, and all civil governments administering it, and, consequently, the immorality of all voting for civil officers under such governments. It was not, I think, until after that experiment had proved a failure, that the sinfulness of voting under our Constitution, on the ground of its *pro-slavery* character, was brought forward. It is certainly quite remarkable, that, in maintaining their new views of the Constitution, in reply to those who hold the unconstitutionality of slavery, they have been driven to abjure and repudiate the principles of construction, and the main positions, formerly relied upon by *all* Abolitionists, themselves included, to prove "the power of Congress over the District of Columbia," as exhibited in the very popular work of Mr. Weld. A recent instance of this course has occurred in the criticisms of Wendell Phillips, Esq., of Boston, (in the National Anti-Slavery Standard,) of the pamphlet written by myself. Admitting the soundness of *Mr. Weld's* main positions, it has been found *inconvenient*, to say the least, to avoid the conclusions of *mine*. This is coming to be understood.

How extensively the doctrines I hold are received, it is difficult to say. My "Views of American Constitutional Law, in its Bearing on American Slavery," published in 1844, has gone through two editions, and above 13,000 copies of it have been sold by the publishers. Mr. Spooner's more recent work is now in brisk circulation, in the same field and elsewhere. It maintains *nearly* the same ground with mine. Mr. Spooner's argument goes to the liberation of any slave in the United States, whose cause should be brought before a Supreme Court, correctly interpreting the Constitution of the United States. Mine, running more in the line of the political safeguards of liberty, demands of Congress, acting for the "United States," the "guaranty of a republican form of government" "to every State in this Union," defining a republican government, according to the language of Mr. Madison in the Federalist, and according to the language of Mr. Jefferson.

No Liberty party meeting or convention, in the State of New York, would hesitate, I think, to adopt, with a strong vote, the resolutions of the Liberty convention in Massachusetts, in conformity with Mr. Spooner's argument, nor would they probably falter at the additional sentiment above mentioned from *mine*; unless, perhaps, in the southeastern part of the State, in or near the city of New York, where Liberty men are less numerous and less active.

Not only so: anti-slavery lecturers to promiscuous audiences, composed mainly of Whigs and Democrats, not unfrequently are greeted with enthusiastic responses to the same doctrine. At set debates, before such audiences, the prevailing voice is found sometimes against the constitutionality of slavery. An eminent Democratic lawyer, in Western New York, was invited to debate the question with a Liberty man. He declined, remarking that he could not, and would not undertake to defend the constitutionality of slavery, for he pronounced it unanswerable, (much to the astonishment of the gentleman who applied to him.) This lawyer has never been known as an Abolitionist. While preparing to write my pamphlet, I asked a number of lawyers for the materials and references I needed. To my surprise, I found some of them, even then, entertaining somewhat similar views. One eminent Whig lawyer and statesman, to whom a friend of mine made application, in my behalf, for a loan of some volumes, expressed himself pretty decidedly of opinion that slavery was unconstitutional. He has since been a candidate of the Whig party for office, and the votes of Liberty men have been solicited for him, on the ground of his constitutional opinions.

On no topic connected with the anti-slavery discussion, within my knowledge, has the public sentiment, in general, more readily yielded to the influence of anti-slavery argument, than on this topic of the unconstitutionality of slavery. It is reaching many minds that have hitherto been inaccessible. Most of our new recruits to the Liberty party in this State are coming in *with* these views, and in *consequence* of them. So long as they thought slavery *constitutional*, they could see no encouragement to enter a political party arrayed *against* it. Now, the way is all clear before them. And in respect to our citizens in general, a remarkable change has been witnessed, within two or three years. *Then* "the constitutional guaranties of slavery" was a phrase in almost every one's mouth—a standing objection to *all sorts* of abolition, as well as to the Liberty party. *Now*, (except in the fresh recent wake of a Garrisonian lecturer, or where the National Anti-Slavery Standard circulates,) the mention of it is seldom heard among the common people.

The position of *most lawyers*, I think, may be *accounted for*, or rather *described*, in the language of one of the ablest lawyers in the country, whose name, along with some others, I do not feel at liberty to mention. "The lawyers," says he, "argue from the Constitution, as it is *now perverted*. The present *mis-interpretation* of it they make their *starting point*."

In estimating the probable *future* course of public sentiment on this subject, one consideration must not be overlooked. It is that the Constitution is either *anti-slavery*, or else it is *pro-slavery*. *Neutral* it is not and cannot be. It must either be administered for the support (as William Pinkney would say) of "partial bondage," and the consequent overthrow of "general freedom," or else it must be administered (according to its preamble) for the security of liberty, and the consequent downfall of slavery. All our strong-minded statesmen, in their different ways, have inculcated this sentiment. On the one hand, Jefferson, William Pinkney, John Jay, &c., assure us that "the liberties of a nation cannot be secure" but by convictions hostile to slavery; that "the stream of general liberty cannot flow forever uncorrupted through the mire of partial bondage;" that "our prayers" for such a phenomenon would be "impious." On the other hand, our McDuffies, and other statesmen of that class, have taught us the same lesson by predicting, in connection with their defences of slavery, the subjugation of Northern freemen. This hard lesson, the people of the North generally, as well as Abolitionists, are beginning to decipher and comprehend. Passing events are beating it into them, beyond the possibility of evasion. This execrated Mexican war, loading them already with its hundred millions of dollars contribution, is a pestle and mortar with which even folly itself may be brayed into comparative wisdom. The waking up within the last six months you can scarcely conceive, unless you should come here and travel among the people. Our Northern yeomanry are studying the Constitution with anointed eyes. A thousand anti-slavery lecturers and half a million copies of constitutional arguments were a drop in the bucket, in the comparison with the developments of this winter's session of Congress. The first, the grand, the turning point of the discussion is already manifested. If the Constitution DOES tolerate the SLAVE POWER that is thus crushing us, it is all that Garrison has ever called it—"a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell!" If there is not power and life in it to uproot the monster, and rid us of it, we trample it under our feet. Let us see and know for ourselves how this matter is? Thus reason already large masses of men, who have never been enrolled in anti-slavery societies, nor in the Liberty party. They have neither been trained in the Garrison controversy, nor in that of the opposers of Garrison. But to Garrison's construction of the Constitution they will come, or to mine; and no earthly power can prevent it, nor prevent their making themselves heard in the councils of their country.

Here lies the true issue of this question. Is the Constitution *anti-slavery*? Then let it overthrow its antagonist! Is it *pro-slavery*? Then we owe it no allegiance. We cast it to the winds. We will have a better one.

The fact that the Garrison construction finds converts at the North (for it is the ultra McDuffie construction!) is the strongest corroboration of what I have just said. The leaders of the Garrison party, or of the Liberty party, or of the Whig and Democratic parties, may have such objects as they *say*, and may amuse themselves as they *choose*. The people ranged at present under those leaders are thinking, and thinking too deeply and earnestly to be held firmly by *any* party ties. What statesman, nay, what politician, with half an eye, does not see *that*? The *three* political parties stand to-day, as the Hebrews in Egypt stood, with their sandals on their feet, and their kneading troughs on their shoulders, ready for a march, if need be, through the bed of the Red Sea, and the winds are moving on its surface. What does it mean? *Mean?!!* Watch, and you shall see!

Talk of *midway* constructions of the Constitution! The time has gone by for that. The people understand now, as they *did* not, what this boasted impartiality between liberty and slavery, between God and the Devil, means. This Mexican war, as I said, has furnished a commentary upon such expositions, not to be misunderstood. If anything were wanting, it is supplied by the late constitutional exposition of Mr. Calhoun, taken in connection with his own revelations of the object of the annexation of Texas, and with the vote of the Senate on the Wilmot proviso. The neutrality and impartiality of the Constitution, thus deciphered, means just what Mr. McDuffie made of it, and what Mr. Calhoun himself used to make of it.

Have you read, by the by, the leading editorial of the last Albany Patriot, upon "Mr. Calhoun and the Constitution?" It is from the pen, if I mistake not, of President Green. Should you transfer it to your columns, your readers, I am persuaded, would learn from it the tone and temper of the majority of Liberty men in Central and Western New York.

The conclusion of the whole matter is this: Any Liberty party, or other political association against slavery, that hesitates to adopt the resolutions of the Massachusetts Liberty Convention, and raise the full broad flag of an anti-slavery constitution, will find itself vastly behind the times. It is no time for temporizing now. "Speak to the children of Israel, that they go forward." I do not ask you to construe a written document in the light of your feelings, (an error which I have avoided, though my earnestness may lead you to suspect the contrary.) If the Constitution *cannot* redeem its pledge, and "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," let us know the worst of the case, and govern ourselves accordingly. I assure you, that many, many minds are occupied on this question. Convince us, by the severest logic, (and we will listen with the coolness of cucumbers, if need be,) that the Constitution permits slavery, and we can give up the point without a murmur. We have one resource left, only, and it will be taken with firmness. We will go for an amended Constitution—a new Constitution—involving, if the South says so, a peaceful dissolution of the Union. All *that* we are ready for, not with "moral suasion" merely, with Mr. Garrison, but at the ballot-box. In his ranks, by the by, there has been a motion for that enterprise. Another sign of the times. Let, then, the Liberty party define its position. "It is time we understood one another, and the public should know what constitutional ground the Liberty party occupies."

WILLIAM GOODELL.

P. S. I had intended to notice briefly your objections to the Massachusetts resolutions, but, for the present, forbear to do so, further than to say that they would not satisfy most Liberty men in this region who have studied the subject.

A PROPHECY AND AN ORACLE.—The Duke of Northumberland, in conversation one day with Lord Mansfield, spoke of the comfort of reading the newspapers at breakfast. "The comfort of reading the newspapers!" said Lord Mansfield; "mark my words, you and I shall not live to see it; but sooner or later those newspapers, if they go on as they have done, will most assuredly write down the Dukes of Northumberland out of their titles and possessions, and the country out of its King. Mark my words, for this will happen."

Liverpool Courier.

AN INGENIOUS MODE OF GOVERNMENT LYING.—The *Diario* (Lisbon) is very truthful, so long as it has nothing but brilliant successes to commemorate; but the moment a reverse occurs, it becomes as lying as its adversaries, and the War Office follows suit. The way they lie is ingenious: they print an account of the disaster in italics, with copious notes of admiration, insinuating, or leaving it to be inferred, that it is a malignant invention of the enemy; and if they are afterwards taxed with concealing the "untoward event," they point to the italics, and say that it was printed in the *Diario.—Correspondent of the Times.*

The Native Americans of New York city have nominated Elias J. Drake for mayor.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, APRIL 1, 1847.

POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN THE SOUTH.

The movements of Mr. Calhoun are interesting. They show his purpose to make the extension of slavery a great party issue, and himself the Presidential candidate of the South. The first step is, agitation in South Carolina, by public meetings; the second will be (supposing the necessary funds forthcoming) the establishment of a new paper at Washington, probably next fall, under the control of Mr. Calhoun's prime minister, Mr. Duff Green.

It seems to be generally understood that Mr. Calhoun has declared independence of all caucuses and conventions. The Democrats of the North are no longer trusted. The introduction by a Democratic Representative of the Wilmot proviso, and its vigorous support by Democratic members, are sins not to be forgiven by their slaveholding brethren. The aim of Mr. Calhoun's followers is to alarm the South, excite its indignation against the North, convince men of all parties there that no faith can be reposed in either the Whig or Democratic party of the free States, and thus prepare the way for the organization of a great Southern, or, rather, slaveholding party, himself at its head. In this way an election of President by the people may be defeated, and thrown into the House of Representatives, where, by some political legerdemain, Mr. Calhoun may find himself elevated to the Presidential chair.

A reference to those circumstances will explain the alleged disappointment of Mr. Calhoun at the vote of Gen. Cass on the Wilmot proviso. Had he been actuated alone by anxiety for the interests of slavery, he would have rejoiced at this vote as an additional guaranty of the "peculiar institution;" but he is a man of like passions with other politicians, and has associated his own elevation too intimately with what he chooses to regard as the interests of the South, to contemplate with complacency any one who crosses his path.

On the 9th instant, a large meeting of the citizens of Charleston was held, to welcome the favorite statesman of South Carolina. A committee of twenty-five was appointed, to prepare a report and suitable resolutions. They say that the tone and language of the Northern press, the action of the Legislatures of the free States, and the developments in Congress the last year, furnish conclusive evidence of a fixed determination on the part of those States that slavery shall not hereafter exist in any of the Territories of the United States, and that no State shall be admitted into the Union whose Constitution tolerates its existence. They proceed to state, briefly, the facts upon which this opinion is founded, reciting the history of the Wilmot proviso, from the time when it was first introduced; referring to the rejection of Mr. Burt's amendment to the Oregon territorial bill; the repeated rejection of propositions made in Congress to extend the Missouri compromise line to the Pacific; the tone and temper of the press, both Whig and Democratic, throughout the non-slaveholding States; and the strong anti-slavery resolutions of the Legislatures of some of these States.

The committee do not deem the action of the Senate at all satisfactory. The vote of several Senators from the free States against the proviso is not regarded as indicative of their views upon the *principle* involved.

"The remarks," they say, "of the Senators from the non-slaveholding States, who voted against the proviso, evinced, clearly, that they opposed it only because they thought it was not the proper time and occasion to carry out the policy it embraced. Nay, their own declarations manifested that those Senators, when the territory was acquired, would be found united with the other Senators from the non-slaveholding States.

"Your committee consider the action of the Senate, when taken in connection with the proclaimed intentions of the Northern Senators, voting in the majority, as strongly confirmatory of their conviction, already expressed, as to the determination of the non-slaveholding States."

They admit that, for a time, party considerations, or motives of policy, may prevent definite action upon this determination; but that its enforcement, when necessary, is firmly resolved on, they cannot doubt.

In conclusion, they recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

"1. *Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this meeting, a submission to the proposed exclusion from an equality of benefits in the Territories of the United States, beyond what is already yielded by the Missouri compromise, would be unwise, dangerous, dishonorable, and debasing.

"2. *Resolved*, That this is a question paramount to all considerations of party, as mere temporary policy, and that he who falters, and, Esau like, barters his birthright for a mess of pottage, is recreant to the memory of the past, to his duty in the present, and a traitor to posterity.

"3. *Resolved*, That this meeting cordially respond to the resolutions lately passed by the House of Delegates in the State of Virginia; that they hereby reiterate the same, and adopt them, as expressing not only the sense of this meeting and of Charleston district, but, as they believe, of the State of South Carolina, and, as they confidently hope, of the WHOLE SOUTH.

"The Virginia resolutions are as follows, viz:

"*Be it resolved unanimously by the General Assembly of Virginia*, That the Government of the United States has no control, directly or indirectly, mediately or immediately, over the institution of slavery; and that, in taking any such control, it transcends the limits of its legitimate functions, by destroying the internal organization of the sovereignties who created it.

"*Resolved, unanimously*, That under no circumstances will this body recognise as binding any enactment of the Federal Government which has for its object the prohibition of slavery in any territory to be acquired either by conquest or treaty; holding it to be the natural and indefeasible right of each and every citizen of each and every State of the Confederacy, to reside with his property, of whatever description, in any territory which may be acquired by the arms of the United States, or yielded by treaty with any foreign Power.

"*Resolved, unanimously*, That this General Assembly holds it to be the duty of every man, in every section of this Confederacy, if the Union is dear to him, to oppose the passage of any law, for whatever purpose, by which territory to be acquired may be subject to such a restriction.

"*Resolved, unanimously*, That the passage of the above-mentioned *proviso* makes it the duty of every slaveholding State, and every citizen thereof, as they value their dearest privileges, their sovereignty, their independence, their rights of property, to take firm, united, and concerted action in this emergency."

The resolutions were adopted unanimously. Before their passage, Mr. Calhoun addressed the assembly in earnest support of them. His speech is to be written out for the press. The *Charleston News* furnishes a brief sketch, however, from which we glean a few thoughts.

He undertook to show that the real interest of the North was identified with the existence of slavery. Indeed, the revenues of the Federal Government depended upon it.

He classified the voters of the non-slaveholding States, as follows:

1. The Abolitionists, "fanatics on the subject of slavery," holding that it ought to be put down at all hazards—five per cent. of the whole voting population.

2. The sober, quiet citizens of the North, believing slavery to be an evil, willing to see it abolished, but not willing to overthrow the Constitution—the real Conservative party of the North—constituting seven-tenths of the voters.

3. The rest, about twenty-five per cent. of the voting population, were divided into two parts: the one, highly talented and respectable, sympathizing with the South, constituting only about five per cent.; the other, the "Spoils party," caring for no principle, but going in every election for spoils. These constituted twenty per cent. of the whole.

The Abolitionists held the balance of power, and were courted by both Whigs and Democrats. Should the South unite with any party allying itself with these fanatics, it would become utterly insignificant in the Federal councils. It would offend, too, its peculiar friends in the North, who would then become contaminated like the rest.

"Mr. Calhoun expressed himself as thoroughly opposed to all conventions for the nomination of candidates for the Presidency. He believed them to be unknown to the Consitution, corrupt in their nature, and not giving a fair representation of the wishes and opinions of the people.

"Finally, Mr. Calhoun urged upon the South the necessity of being united on this great question. We were warned, he said, by the present posture of affairs, to raise our voices. If the South would unite at once, rally and form a great party, in which the question of the rights of the South should be predominant, we would receive recruits from both parties at the North."

A similar glorification meeting was held in behalf of Senator BUTLER, on the 15th instant, at *Columbia, S. C.* A committee of twenty persons was appointed, who reported resolutions like those above quoted.

Mr. Butler then addressed the meeting. Mr. Calhoun, he said, had more to do in the satisfactory adjustment of the Oregon question than any other statesman in Europe or America. He commended Mr. Polk for his fidelity on the question of free trade. He had supported every measure of the Administration but the lieutenant generalship. The expulsion of Mr. Ritchie was, he said, but a removal of that gentleman from the benches back of the Senators, to a seat in the gallery, among the prettiest women he had ever seen, and where, half the time, he would much rather have been than in his own seat.

"Democracy was a term of doubtful and fallacious import. He preferred the name of Republican. There were some securities in the guaranties of an organized republic; none in an irresponsible democracy.

"If the South relied upon the latter, as developed by the New York school of Democracy, she depended upon a broken reed, that would wound the hand that rested upon it. The Wilmot proviso was but an indication of that."

Whatever was the temper of the times now, the day would come when all the factions of the North would unite, and make up an opinion fatal to the security of the South; and the South must look to herself for safety, as any alliance with them would be wholly delusive.

The *Charleston Mercury* strongly seconds these movements for the organization of a Southern political party—in other words, for a Calhoun party—and denounces as timeserving the course of some of the professed friends of the South. When we remember how entirely the slaveholders have had their way in our Federal councils, and then read the following paragraphs from the *Mercury*, we must confess we are utterly at a loss to understand what they want:

"But it is not against open enemies alone that we are forced to protect ourselves, or by them alone that our rights are endangered. The servile truckling to Northern influence, in the game of President making, bartering away our honor and our rights for political ascendency, and selling our very inheritance to obtain it, is more to be dreaded than the assaults of undisguised hostility, however fierce.

"There was a time when we supposed that every Southern heart beat true on this great question, and that however we might divide upon minor issues, that here at least was a broad platform, on which we could all meet, and do battle in a just cause, with entire unanimity. But we now fear that we have hoped too trustfully, and that there are enemies even in the midst of our own camp. Who does not recollect the rejoicings of the *Union*, at Washington, at the re-election to Congress of the author of that very proviso which has given form and substance to the wishes and intentions of the Anti-Slavery party? And these thanksgivings for his success were offered up with a full knowledge of the fact, that Mr. Wilmot was as great a foe to the South as Joshua Giddings of Ohio, or John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts. Nor is this all. Calm and philosophic was the quiet and indifference of the *Union*, under all the assaults of the enemy; but no sooner was an effort made on our part to repel these attacks, than its sensibilities were quickened into life, and its solicitude expressed in terms which left no room for doubt as to which sentiment was nearer the heart of that journal—the safety of the *South*, or the predominance of a *party*. During the session of Congress, the assaults made upon us by the Northern Democracy passed unnoticed by the Government press, but every effort at defence was met with the senseless cry of '*agitation*,' and we were gravely told that the good of the *party* required that we should be silent, and, with Christian humility,

"'Lick the hand just raised to shed our blood.'"

The *Union*, happening to receive by one mail the *Charleston Mercury*, containing this denunciation, and the New York *Evening Post*, denouncing it for its pro-slavery policy, rejoices that it has hit the happy medium, stands nobly upon the line of compromise, where our fathers stood, &c. See how prettily the national organ of the Democracy of Equal Rights pleads for the extension of slavery:

"We have statistics before us, made up by one of the best calculators on the subject, showing that if we acquire to the 32d degree of latitude as our boundary line, and taking the Missouri line of compromise of 36½ degrees, there would be territory enough to carve out about thirteen States to the South and twenty to the North, embracing Oregon. The slaveholding States, therefore, are perfectly safe."

We have thus briefly glanced at these important political movements among the friends of slavery. They are organizing their forces, and by the meeting of the next Congress will present an unbroken array in favor of the dismemberment of Mexico, for the purpose of planting slavery in its free provinces. Meanwhile, the Whig party of the North is to be lulled by the cry, that the struggle is over, the question is settled, no more can ne done; and the Northern and Western Democracy is to be deluded by the idea of compromise; so that, unless the friends of Liberty, without respect to party, take the matter in hand, and compel every candidate for office to pledge himself against the further extension of slavery, the next Congress will witness scarcely a struggle on the question.

Will the non-slaveholders of the country ever wake up to the necessity of prompt, uncompromising action on this subject?

FACTS vs. MR. HUDSON.

The *National Intelligencer* lately contained a long letter from Mr. Hudson, a Representative from Massachusetts, to Mr. Gentry, of Tennessee, in relation to the increased demand for our breadstuffs in Europe and England. The great aim of the writer was to show, that neither our own low tariff, nor the repeal of the British corn laws, has had anything to do with the increase of the demand for grain and meat, and that of their price. There is some truth but more error in his speculations.

"I know," says Mr. Hudson, "of no period when there has been such a general failure of crops in all parts of Europe as during the past year; and hence the general apprehension of famine, not only in Ireland, but on the continent. Let any man examine these facts, and he will be at no loss to account for the increase of prices and the extraordinary demand for our grain and *meat*. To ascribe these changes to the modification of the English corn laws, is too ridiculous to be seriously considered."

This is a sweeping assertion, and, to show what credit attaches to it, we have compiled the following table, showing the value of the annual export of the several articles named, from the year 1833 to 1846, inclusive:

VALUE OF ANNUAL EXPORTS.

Years.	Pork, hogs, lard, &c.	Beef, cattle, hides, &c.	Butter and cheese.
1834 - -	$1,796,001	$755,219	$190,099
1835 - -	1,776,732	638,761	164,809
1836 - -	1,383,341	699,116	114,033
1837 - -	1,299,796	585,146	96,176
1838 - -	1,312,346	521,231	148,191
1839 - -	1,777,230	371,646	127,550
1840 - -	1,894,894	623,373	210,749
1841 - -	2,621,537	904,918	504,815
1842 - -	2,629,403	1,212,638	388,185
1843 - -	2,120,120	1,092,949	508,968
1844 - -	3,236,479	1,810,551	758,829
1845 - -	2,991,284	1,926,809	878,865
1846 - -	3,583,884	2,474,208	1,063,087

It will be remarked that the exports of these articles from the year 1834 to 1840, inclusive, were for the most part stationary. By referring to a table given in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, December 3, 1845, we find that such was the fact from the year 1821. The supply or export was limited by the demand, which was then circumscribed by the high duties imposed by the corn laws of Great Britain.

In 1840-'41, the British Government began to reduce the duties, not on flour, but on pork, beef, butter, &c., and followed up the policy by successive reductions, till, by the act of June 26, 1845, it exempted from imposts beef, bacon, pork, and hides, and reduced to almost a nominal amount the duties on butter, cheese, lard, &c.

Now, look at the table above, and see how remarkably the increase in the export of these articles keeps pace with the diminution of the duties. In six years, the export of pork, hogs, lard, &c., has doubled; that of beef, cattle, and hides, quadrupled; that of butter and cheese, quintupled! And this increase has taken place, not by leaps, which would indicate the action of accidental causes, but by a steady progression annually, from which we are obliged to infer a permanent cause. This cause is the enlargement of the markets for these articles in Great Britain, by the reduction of the duties upon them. Here are *facts*, which Mr. Hudson would have done well to examine, before pronouncing them "too ridiculous to be seriously considered."

The influence of the reduction of duties on Indian corn has scarcely been less decisive in augmenting its exportation. In regard to wheat and flour, we have yet no statistics on which reliance can be placed. The duties on that staple were also lowered by the act Parliament of 1846, but not to such an extent as to relieve the flour trade; and a removal of all duties is not to take place until 1849. The experiment is too recent for us to estimate its operation on our export trade; besides, the famine in Ireland, and general scarcity throughout Europe this year, create a *peculiar* demand for breadstuffs, so that it is impossible to say how much effect the alteration in the corn laws, as it respects flour, has had on our exportation. But, on grounds which we explained at great length, in a series of articles we wrote a year ago, on the wheat culture and exportation, we confidently look for a uniform annual increase hereafter in the exportation of our breadstuffs.

Nations will learn, in process of time, that the fewer restrictions they impose on their intercourse and commerce with each other, the better it will be for the temporal prosperity and moral condition of the world.

THE POWER OF CONGRESS IN RELATION TO THE ADMISSION OF NEW STATES.

The following paragraph we quote from the report of the committee adopted by the Calhoun meeting at Charleston, noticed in another column. We shall make it the text for some comments on the power of Congress in relation to the admission of new States into the Union.

"As to our rights, under the Constitution, we hold it to be clear and unquestionable, that the slaveholding States are entitled to an equal participation in the Territories of the United States. And we utterly deny the right of Congress to exclude a new State, applying for admission to our Union, on account of the existence of any domestic institution which was tolerated in the original thirteen."

The slaveholding *States* are certainly entitled to an equal participation in the Territories of the United States. Nobody has ever denied it—nobody wishes it were otherwise. Wilmot's proviso is no more designed to prevent this "equal participation" than was Jefferson's famous ordinance of 1787, excluding slavery from the Northwest Territory. Let it become the law, and it does not touch the equality of the States of this Union. No citizen of the United States would be excluded by it from any Territory of the Union; all would have an equal right to settle there, and equal rights when settled. The proviso would operate only against what Washington and Jefferson, and all the distinguished statesmen of the South of the Revolution, pronounced a curse, and tolerated barely on the plea of necessity. Is it *necessary* to extend this curse to *free* soil?

But the committee "utterly deny the right of Congress to exclude a new State, applying for admission to our Union, on account of any domestic institution which was tolerated in the original thirteen." It is a simple denial, without reason: no reason is assigned to sustain it, none can be assigned. The provision of the Constitution in relation to the admission of new States is simple and unmistakable:

"New States *may* be admitted by Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of Congress."

This is the sole constitutional provision in regard to the admission of new States. It does not say that Congress *must* admit new States. It simply *authorizes* it to do so, leaving the whole subject of their admission, its expediency or inexpediency, the terms and conditions, *to the discretion* of Congress. There can be no mistake about this. The language cannot be forced, by the most violent construction, to give another meaning. A new State applies for admission. How is it to be admitted? By an act of Congress alone. Whence does Congress derive its power? From the first clause of section 3d, 4th article of the Constitution: "New States *may* be admitted by Congress into this Union." Their *right* to admission is, therefore, imperfect or contingent—depending *entirely* upon the *discretion* of Congress. But has Congress a right to refuse admission? Undoubtedly; for the grant of power to admit is not accompanied by an injunction to use that power, but is left, by its very terms, altogether discretionary. It may, therefore, refuse to exercise this power, for such cause as it may judge to be sufficient, and the new State applying cannot say that a single one of its rights is infringed, or that Congress has violated a single provision of the Constitution.

But if Congress may constitutionally refuse to exert this power for one reason, it may for another. The right to judge of the reasons which shall control its constitutional functions resides with itself.

Titles of nobility cannot be granted either by the General Government or State Governments. But a State may establish the right of primogeniture, and create, in fact, a landed aristocracy, with peculiar privileges, still maintaining a republican *form* of government. Suppose the new State of Wisconsin had done this, and then applied for admission into the Union; would any one deny the right of Congress to reject the application, and that, too, on the ground of its peculiar institutions? Deny it, in the face of the Constitution, which simply *authorizes*, but does not *obligate*, Congress to admit new States? On the contrary, would not every American citizen demand that the application of the new State be rejected, till she saw proper to make her institutions republican in *fact* as well as in *form*?

Still you do not meet the question, say these Charleston abstractionists. We deny "the right of Congress to exclude a new State applying for admission to our Union, *on account of the existence of any domestic institution which was tolerated in the original thirteen.*"

Why so? We have demonstrated that the power of admission, in Congress, is purely *discretionary*—may be exerted or not, according to its good pleasure; that it *has* a *right* to exclude any new State applying for admission, for good cause, in its own judgment. It may deem slavery in a new State sufficient reason; whether it be or not, is a question of opinion, to be decided, according to Democratic usage, by the will of the majority. If the majority so judge, they have a perfect right, under the Constitution, to proceed in accordance with their judgment, and refuse to pass an act for the admission of the applicant. And we should like to see Mr. Calhoun put his finger upon the constitutional guaranty, that such a course of action would violate. The fact that the domestic institution, on account of which the new State is refused admission, was "tolerated in the original thirteen," proves nothing—affects not the question of *right* in the smallest degree. It may be taken into the account, in deliberating on the *policy* of Congress; but as the Constitution contains no guaranty, express or implied, that the *peculiar* institutions of any one of the thirteen original States were to be extended by the Federal Government, or, when adopted by new States applying for admission into the Union, were to constitute no bar to such application, the *discretionary power* of Congress over the whole subject would remain unimpaired. There may be reasons why, in a union of certain States already existing, a certain institution or system should be "tolerated," ("*tolerated*"—that is the true word—the Charleston committee have spoken correctly,) and just as good reasons why this original Union should be unwilling to admit to its fellowship any *new* State tolerating the same institution. As a matter of fact, we assert what the language of the paragraph quoted from the report of the committee concedes—that slavery was only "*tolerated*" in the old thirteen. While no power was given to the Federal Government to abolish it in the States then existing, the "tone and temper of the press" of all the States at that day; all the debates in the Convention that framed, and in the State Conventions that adopted the Federal Constitution; the letters and speeches of the most eminent statesmen, North and South; the repeated subsequent declarations of the most influential members of the Federal Convention of 1787; the anti-slavery ordinance for the government of the only Territory at that time under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, and all contemporary history, demonstrate, beyond all doubt, that it was the desire and intention and policy of all the States, except South Carolina and Georgia, (and also of the Federal Government,) that the further extension of slavery should be prevented. The Wilmot proviso is but a re-enactment of the anti-slavery article of the ordinance of 1787, a revival of the avowed policy of the country at the time of the formation of the Union. It is not only constitutional, when tested by the *letter* of the Constitution, but it is the faithful carrying out of the spirit of the original compact.

CONTINUED DISTRESS IN IRELAND—FAMINE AND PESTILENCE—HORRIBLE SCENES.

We are glad to see no relaxation of effort in this country in behalf of Ireland. Starvation and pestilence are doing fearful work there.

At the latest date, the New York committee had received $101,578. In Albany, $11,539, in Cincinnati, $12,000, had been collected. In Cincinnati, the money is converted into provisions, as fast as received. Several boat loads have already been shipped. We are pleased to see Pittsburgh moving at last.

Many affecting instances are recorded of the charity of the poor Irish girls in this country.

The *Liberty (N. Y.) Intelligencer* says, a servant girl, in the employ of Mr. Rust, of the Syracuse House, lately deposited $25 with the Relief Committee, to be forwarded to Ireland. She said she needed it for her own use, but her necessities were not to be compared with those of her poor mother and friends in Ireland. The same girl last summer transmitted $20.

A correspondent of the *Albany Evening Journal* says, that Mary M. Graham, a hired girl living in his family, and who has no means beyond her limited wages, has sent $20 of her earnings to Ireland.

Much is said of the idleness and want of thought of the people in Ireland, but such instances as these show that, when placed in circumstances where their labor is sure of a reward, they can not only make and save, but, when the occasion demands, give with an unsurpassed liberality.

The following suggestions from Elihu Burritt, to whom we are indebted for "An Olive Leaf," containing the journal of a week in Ireland, are worthy of attention:

"All vessels should be directed to Cork, which is an excellent and accessible port. Their cargoes can be consigned to the chairman of the British Relief Association, South Sea House, London, or to the chairman of the Friends' Irish Relief Association, Dublin. Both of these associations have made extensive arrangements to meet all the different points of distress which the contributions consigned to their disposition can supply. The Government has placed at their disposal steam vessels to convey provisions from one port to another; and would, consequently, furnish like means for the transportation to the different ports of the kingdom of all the American contributions which might be forwarded to Cork, consigned to either of these two associations.

"If any of the Sunday school children in America should be pleased to make me the agent of their little charities, toward particular groups or families of Irish children, I should be happy to appropriate them in a way that should be satisfactory. Anything addressed to the care of Joseph Sturge, Birmingham, England, will reach me without delay. "ELIHU BURRITT."

This "Journal" depicts unheard-of sufferings. The following extract will awaken feelings of horror and pity. "*Give*, GIVE, GIVE!" is its voice to the American people:

"The first habitation we entered in the Castlehaven district was literally a hole in the wall, occupied by what might be called, in America, a squatter, or a man who had burrowed a place for himself and family in the acute angle of two dilapidated walls, by the roadside, where he lived rent free. We entered this stinted den by an aperture about three feet high, and found one or two children lying asleep, with their eyes open, in the straw. Such, at least, was their appearance; for they scarcely winked while we were before them. The father came in, and told us a pitiful story of want, saying that not a morsel of food had they tasted for twenty-four hours. He lighted a wisp of straw, and showed us one or two more children lying in another nook of the cave. Their mother had died; and he was obliged to leave them alone during most of the day, in order to glean something for their subsistence.

"We were soon among the most wretched habitations that I had yet seen, far worse than those in Skibbereen. Many of them were flat-roofed hovels, half buried in the earth, or built up against the rocks, and covered with rotten straw, seaweed, or turf. In one, which was scarcely seven feet square, we found five persons prostrate with the fever, and apparently near their end. A girl, about sixteen, the very picture of despair, was the only one left who could administer any relief; and all she could do was to bring water in a broken pitcher to slake their parched lips.

"As we proceeded up the rocky hill overlooking the scene, we encountered new sights of wretchedness. Seeing a cabin standing somewhat by itself, in a hollow, and surrounded by a moat of green filth, we entered it with some difficulty, and found a single child, about three years old, lying upon a kind of shelf, with its little face resting upon the edge of the board, and looking steadfastly out at the door as if for its mother. It never moved its eyes as we entered, but kept them fixed toward the entrance. It is doubtful whether the poor thing had a mother or father left to her; but it is more doubtful still whether those eyes would have relapsed their vacant gaze, if both of them had entered at once, with everything that could tempt the palate in their hands. No words can describe this peculiar appearance of the famished children. Never have I seen such bright, blue, clear eyes, looking so steadfastly at nothing. I could almost fancy that the angels of God had been sent to unseal the vision of these little, patient, perishing creatures to the beatitudes of another world; and that they were listening to the whispers of unseen spirits, bidding them to 'wait a little longer.'

"Leaving this, we entered another cabin, in which we found seven or eight attenuated young creatures, with a mother who had pawned her cloak, and could not venture out to beg for bread, because she was not fit to be seen on the streets.

"Hearing the voice of wailing from a cluster of huts further up the hill, we proceeded to them, and entered one, and found several persons weeping over the dead body of a woman lying by the wall, near the door. Stretched upon the ground, here and there, lay several sick persons; and the place seemed a den of pestilence. The filthy straw was rank with the festering fever. Leaving this habitation of death, we were met by a young woman, in an agony of despair, because no one would give her a coffin to bury her father in. She pointed to a cart at some distance, upon which his body lay; and she was about to follow it to the grave; and he was such a good father, she could not bear to lay him like a beast in the ground; and she begged a coffin, 'for the honor of God.' While she was wailing and weeping for this boon, I cast my eye towards the cabin we had just left, and a sight met my view which made me shudder with horror. The husband of the dead woman came staggering out, with her body upon his shoulders, slightly covered with a piece of rotten canvass. I will not dwell upon the details of this spectacle. Painfully and slowly he bore the remains of the late companion of his misery to the cart. We followed him a little way off, and saw him deposite his burden alongside of the father of the young woman, and by her assistance.

"As the two started for the graveyard, to bury their own dead, we pursued our walk still further on, and entered another cabin, where we encountered the climax of human misery. Surely, thought I, while regarding this new phenomenon of suffering, there can be no lower deep than this, between us and the bottom of the grave. On asking after the condition of the inmates, the woman to whom we addressed the question answered by taking out of the straw three breathing skeletons, ranging from two to three feet in height, and *entirely naked*. And these human things were alive! If they had been dead, they could not have been such frightful spectacles. They were alive, and, wonderful to say, they could stand upon their feet, and even walk; but it was awful to see them do it. Had their bones been divested of the skin that held them together, and been covered with a veil of thin muslin, they would not have been more visible. Especially when one of them clung to the door, while a sister was urging it forward, it assumed an appearance which can have been seldom paralleled this side of the grave. The effort which it made to cling to the door disclosed every joint in its frame, while the deepest lines of old age furrowed its face. The enduring of ninety years of sorrow seemed to chronicle its record of woe upon the poor child's countenance. I could bear no more; and we returned to Skibbereen, after having been all the afternoon among those abodes of misery. On our way, we overtook the cart with the two uncoffined bodies. The man and young woman were all that attended them to the grave. Last year, the funeral of either would have called out hundreds of mourners from those hills; but now the husband drove his uncoffined wife to the grave without a tear in his eye, without a word of sorrow."

WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION—ITS RESULTS.

The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter of March 1 contains numerous interesting extracts from official reports relative to the emancipated population of the British colonies, from which we rejoice to learn that the condition of the West Indies is rapidly improving. It is confidently asserted that the crops on the plantations will very soon attain the full average quantity, notwithstanding the diversion of labor into other channels. This is to be accounted for by the substitution of implemental for hand labor; the plough now being universally used where physical obstructions do not exist, in place of the hoe. Thus a single plough, drawn by oxen, reduces the amount of human labor to some three or four hands, where formerly thirty or forty would have hardly sufficed. Hand barrows for manuring, and clearing and weeding ploughs, will soon be in general use; and thus, in every department of plantation labor, the new and improved processes of agriculture will be gradually substituted for the barbarous and insufficient modes which have heretofore prevailed. Complaints of the want of industry in the laborers are much less than formerly, it being now generally admitted that fair wages and prompt payment will always insure good work. The policy of ejecting the emancipated slaves from their old tenements is much deprecated by the friends of all parties. We hold that it was the very best policy that could have been adopted for all parties. We know enough of slavery to feel assured that in no other way could the relation of master and slave have been so effectively and forever broken up. The habit of dependence in the slave, and of arbitrary rule in the master, would have survived emancipation, and years of wrangling and discontent would have scarce sufficed to sever the bonds which were thus at a single blow forever separated. We cannot approve the spirit which led to this forcible ejectment on the part of the planters; but man's worst passions are sometimes the instruments of good, and what was meant only for evil, in this instance has been productive of real benefit to all parties. The planters themselves now lament their want of temper and foresight in dealing with the people.

Another important result of this policy is, the purchase of freeholds by the emancipated people. This subdivision of property, though apparently injurious to the planting interest, is of vast benefit to the laborer, cherishing the feeling of independence, and affording, in the cultivation of a homestead, comforts and enjoyments from which the slave was almost wholly debarred. Nothing is better calculated to promote proper self-respect, and a regard for the property and rights of others, than ownership of the soil. We have never considered the condition of the planting interest, in the first stages of emancipation, as a just criterion of the prosperity of the islands. For long years, only one interest had been looked to. The people had groaned under the most intolerable oppression. The proprietors had amassed princely fortunes from fields from which the laborers had reaped only a harvest of tears and blood. Can we wonder that the first reaction was disastrous to the planting interest? It was just and natural. In the chaos that ensued, we find that the people, instead of being the idle vagabonds that lordly planters and their parasites have represented them, were, in reality, busily at work in their own cottages, laying the foundations of true prosperity—securing their independence and comfort.

Upon their ejection from the estates, the laborers retreated to the uplands, where the cheapness of land enabled them to become proprietors. Their settlements are large, and, in some instances, have assumed the appearance of town rather than village comfort and respectability. Many have engaged in commerce—large stores have been built—and the commercial and agricultural classes mingling freely together, there is an improved tone in the latter, which tends greatly to elevate the whole community. Much improvement is also observable in the overseers as a class. The improvements in agriculture require that they should bring some scientific knowledge, as well as sound judgment and good sense, to the management of estates. Their morals are also improved. Marriage has now generally superseded arrangements of convenience, which were the fruitful source of much disorder and crime.

In remarking upon the statement that crime has greatly increased in the islands since emancipation, the reports show conclusively that this apparent increase results from the fact, that the majority of crimes and misdemeanors which are now taken cognizance of by the public authorities, were formerly disposed of by the masters themselves. They were the judges and executioners. An appeal to the public tribunal would not only have impaired their authority, but have deprived them of the labor of the slave during the trial and after conviction and punishment. None but robberies of some other person than the owner of the culprit, or acts in which there occurred death or atrocious violence, came before the court.

"Thus the amount of guilt may be really far less, and yet the public record be far greater. What was private punishment is now public justice." We have frequently heard this fallacious mode of reasoning applied, in a comparison of the records of the courts of justice in the slave and free States of our own country. Nothing can be more unfair, setting aside the cases of crime committed by the whites, which are not prosecuted in many of the slave States. All that class which supplies most of the criminals in the free States, is represented in the Southern States by the slaves, and, as in the instance above quoted, none but the most flagrant outrages committed by this class are brought before the public tribunals. An opinion of the morality of the slave population, founded upon the number of prosecutions in courts of justice, would be extremely discreditable to the whites, and place their own slaves far above them in point of morality.

We hope that these official reports, and the admissions of the planters themselves, of the improvements becoming manifest in the laboring population of the West Indies, will ultimately root out the prejudice which was early felt toward emancipation in this country, cherished by the exaggerated reports of disastrous consequences which were so industriously circulated by prints in the service of the slaveholders, both in Great Britain and these States.

The Jersey Ship.—We are happy in being able to state that the first Jersey ship (the good ship Overman, of 2,000 barrels burden) is now filled, and will sail from our wharves, for suffering Ireland, early next week. The forwarding committee have, we understand, a large overplus on hand, and have been instructed by the General Committee to charter another vessel, there being, much to the credit of the towns and villages of our State, to which justice will be done by the committee in due time, a fair prospect of its being speedily and well loaded.—*Newark Advertiser.*

"LAW."

"The National Era asserts that 'the doctrine that law is no law unless it be a righteous one,' has 'no other force than that derived from a mere play on words!' Indeed! What, offer this in a criticism of a statement, which aimed at metaphysical exactness and philosophical precision! And the doctrine which it thus summarily, may we not say, contemptuously disposes of, the Era regards as a novelty—a doctrine 'recently broached by some'—doubtless of Dr. Bailey's acquaintance."

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"The National Era ought clearly to show and emphatically to affirm, certainly at the position it occupies, that justice is the very soul of law—is essential to obligation. None of its readers should, with its consent, regard any unrighteous enactment with the least respect—with any other sentiment than deep abhorrence—as a thing to be resisted, trampled under foot. Obey an unrighteous law—and if it *be* law, it ought to be obeyed; obey an unrighteous enactment! That cannot be done without worshipping the devil. THE LORD OUR GOD—Him only, in doing justly and loving mercy, should we serve."—*Beriah Green.*

The *National Era* cannot affirm what is not true. *Justice ought* to be, but *Injustice* often *is*, the "soul of law." Mr. Green *assumes* that law is no law, unless it be a *righteous* one. As language is arbitrary, he may define words as he pleases; but he must not complain of us if we prefer the definition of a word, fixed by universal usage. Law is a rule of action prescribed by the Supreme Power. It may be right, it may be wrong; and, according as it is right or wrong, obligation belongs, or does not belong, to it.

Divine law is a rule of conduct prescribed by Him who is supreme, *absolutely*. The law, like the Lawgiver, is perfect, and has paramount claims to obedience.

Human law is a rule of conduct prescribed by the supreme power of a State—supreme, *relatively*; and this law, like the lawgiver, is imperfect, sometimes erring, sometimes unrighteous; and therefore has no *absolute* claim to obedience.

These distinctions are established by universal usage; recognised by the most eminent writers on law; imbedded in the very structure of the English language. A wo is pronounced in the Old Testament against him who frameth iniquity *by law*. Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, in his famous decision in the Somersett case, said: "Slavery is so odious, that nothing can be suffered to support it, but positive law." Ethical writers have from time immemorial been in the habit of insisting on the exemption of man from obedience to *wicked laws*. Nothing is more common than memorials to the Legislatures for the repeal or alteration of *laws*, on the ground of their *injustice*, their *repugnance to right and truth*.

Common usage, technical usage, common sense, our mother tongue, all unite in the recognition of these distinctions. This is enough for us. We dismiss the metaphysics of words, and acquiesce in a definition clear, intelligible, immemorially and universally recognised.

Mr. Green is at liberty to frame his own definitions. He may call black, *white*, if he please; and so that he reason upon the so-called *white*, as if it possessed all the attributes of *black*, we shall not trouble ourselves about it. But he must not test *our* reasonings by *his* definitions. We hold that laws may be righteous or unrighteous; and, according as they are righteous or unrighteous, that they should be obeyed or disobeyed. Mr. Green holds that obligation is *inseparable* from law—a merely arbitrary assumption, part of an arbitrary definition—and then, testing us by this definition, which we utterly reject, would convey the impression that when we speak of unrighteous *law*, we recognise the obligation to obey it!

Mr. Green entitles the article from which we make the foregoing extracts, "The Name and the Thing." We differ with him as to "the *name*;" in relation to "the thing," we agree. He admits that there are unrighteous enactments, but denies that they are *laws*, and insists that they have no claim to our obedience. We agree with him in every thing, except in his notion that such enactments are not "*laws*." Is it worth while to write volumes on this difference?

THE LOUISVILLE DEMOCRAT AND MR. CALHOUN.

A year or more ago, the editor of the *Louisville Democrat*, a strong Administration paper, wrote an article extolling to the skies the abilities and exploits of Mr. Calhoun, especially in the negotiations concerning Texas. His famous letter to Mr. King was, if we mistake not, particularly mentioned, as a grand user-up of the pretensions of England. We penned a commentary upon the article at the time, with a view to expose the narrow policy and unwise diplomacy of Mr. C., especially reprobating the letter to Mr. King, as insulting to England, and calculated to embarrass our Oregon negotiations.

Since then, our cotemporary of the Democrat has turned a complete somerset. The hostility of Mr. Calhoun to the Administration has changed the whole current of his feelings. Read the following editorial from that paper. After having quoted Mr. Calhoun's frank avowal, that it was to prevent Texas from becoming a free State he precipitated the act of annexation, the Democrat says:

"It seems that Mr. Calhoun dreaded the influence of England on Texas, simply because slavery would be abolished. He would annex Texas to prevent such a result. The whole policy of the Union must tend to this one question—the perpetuation of slavery. Texas must be annexed, lest slavery should be abolished there. Here Mr. Calhoun does precisely what the Abolitionists are accused of doing. He thrusts this question of slavery into the policy of the General Government. We protest against fanatics of all sorts, North and South. All we ask of the North, and all she will grant, is *neutrality*. This is the only tenable ground in this Union. But if we thrust the question into national politics, how can we blame the North for their action? Mr. Calhoun can do the South no greater injury than by calling upon the General Government to act upon such considerations as he here avows. But we let that pass. Mr. Calhoun sent, as Secretary of State, the Texas treaty to the Senate, disregarding all claims of Mexico, and in the face of the protest of her Minister. He wrote to Mr. King a letter, official, and the most insulting to England that ever was penned by an American statesman, attributing to her the vilest hypocrisy, in undisguised terms. No one was so unceremonious with Mexico, up to the time he left the office of Secretary of State; but now he contends that annexation was not the cause of war. To have been deceived as to what Mexico would do years ago is pardonable, but that a man should still insist that her threats of war were all idle, is surely preposterous. She had declared that the annexation of Texas would be a virtual declaration of war, in every shape and form; but it was all bravado! It was? So every one supposed, when she mustered her forces on the Rio Grande. So it was thought when the army marched to Monterey. We should think that a man not determined to be ignorant in spite of experience, might understand Mexico a little by this time. Before the army marched to the Rio Grande, the war cry was raised in Mexico, and Paredes, taking advantage of it, was preparing to overthrow the Government, because it was suspected of an intention to make a treaty. In consequence of the war cry, that Government backed out from receiving a Minister. Upon this suspicion, the Government was overthrown and the war determined on. Our Minister was virtually rejected at the start. Mexico now looks to the annexation as the offence. This everybody knows. Mr. Calhoun may say that it was the march to the Rio Grande that caused the war. He must then reject all the declarations of Mexico—treat all her threats of war with contempt after all the experience we have had. He now would back out from the war, and throw the blame on other people. He would not have California, if it is to be free territory. But if England should get it, what then? Would he then call upon the country to annex it, to prevent its being free territory under the English Government, as he did in the case of Texas? How could any man in his senses expect or ask the North to act from such a motive on a question of this kind.

"We believe that Mr. Calhoun is absolutely insane on the subject of this peculiar institution. A few Abolitionists and a few negroes govern his whole statesmanship. His late movement places him in opposition to the present Administration, decidedly, and we hope he will hereafter be so considered. We intended to say a word on his plan of masterly inactivity in the Mexican war, but we must postpone it until to-morrow."

Gerrit Smith, we learn, has given $2,000 for the relief of Ireland. That is like him.

REVIEW.

HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT OF THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI, by the three great European Powers, Spain, France, and Great Britain, and the subsequent occupation by the United States. By JOHN W. MONETTE, M. D. In two volumes. Harper & Brothers, publishers, New York. For sale by Franck Taylor, Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington.

We have several fragmentary histories of different portions of the valley of the Mississippi, and many reminiscences of pioneer settlers. There are histories of Louisiana, Florida, Indiana, Illinois, and records in abundance of exciting adventures, but there is no complete historical view of the settlement of the whole valley, and the unexampled progress of its entire population. The work before us is designed to supply this want. But let the author speak for himself:

"To supply this *desideratum* and to present a concise and comprehensive detail, a complete but condensed narrative of American colonization west of the Alleghanies is the object of the present work. In this undertaking, the author has endeavored to connect the history of the French and Spanish colonies, which have had their important agency in the destiny of the American republic, with that of the Anglo-Americans, in their advance upon the tributaries of the Ohio river. The blending of these three great branches of European emigration in North America has resulted in the formation of a great and powerful republic, the wonder, if not the admiration, of the civilized world, teeming with an enterprising and ever-active population, proud of their origin from the three great nations that have successively held dominion in the western world."

The Spaniards being the first pioneers in the valley of the Mississippi, the "First Book" is devoted to an account of their explorations and adventures.

The French settlements form the subject of the "Second Book."

The "Third Book" is occupied with a history of the English settlements and the progress of their colonies.

The "Fourth Book," entitled "Spain in the Valley," treats of the acquisition and occupancy of Louisiana by that Power.

"The extension of settlements; the establishment of civil government; the increase of population; the wars and treaties with the native tribes; the acquisition of territory and the extension of dominion; the progress of agriculture, manufactures, trade, and commerce, aided by the potent influence of steam power, constitute the subjects comprised in the 'Fifth Book, or the United States in the valley of the Mississippi.'"

The plan of the work appears to be a good one; its execution is respectable. The narrative is generally perspicuous, simple, interesting, and, on the whole, pretty accurate. But the style is diffuse to tediousness, disfigured by mannerisms, encumbered by repetitions; and, as a *philosophical* historian, he is greatly deficient. Nor do we feel much respect for his moral sense. No atrocity in the annals of human butchery and treachery surpasses the inhuman, horrible deeds of the bloody-minded Spaniards, in their explorations of the valley of the Mississippi. The monster Nero, had he lived, would have been almost shocked at their devilish cruelties. The Indians were prepared to treat them hospitably, but the evil example of treachery set them by white men turned the whole current of their feelings, aroused in them the fell demon of revenge, and stamped their character with perpetual distrust. In the debasement of the Spanish monarchy, its perpetual, devastating convulsions and revolutions, we recognise a fearful, but most righteous retribution for crimes unsurpassed in the history of the world.

But Dr. Monette, describing the horrible scenes in which these land pirates were the actors, can think of nothing but their "heroism," "chivalry," "daring," and "endurance."

Vitachuco, the cacique of a large tribe of Indians, had been despoiled and most villanously treated by one of the earlier marauders who had gone out in search of gold. De Soto, subsequently, in his great expedition through the Mississippi valley, had occasion to pass through his country. Naturally, the cacique was distrustful and hostile, but at length was appeased, and now he seemed anxious to atone for his former hostility by acts of kindness. We quote what followed from our historian:

"Among the demonstrations of friendship and esteem toward De Soto, the cacique proposed, probably in the spirit of generous rivalry, to make a display before him of his power, and the number of warriors under his command, as well as the excellence of his tactics and evolutions in a grand review. On a given day, the whole of his warriors were assembled, to the number of several thousands, including nearly all his tribe. During the parade, De Soto desired that his warriors, too, should display. The chief assented, and the Spaniards marched out with glittering armor and flying banners, to the sound of martial music. They marched before the Indians, the infantry and cavalry duly arranged, when, upon a signal given by a blast of trumpets, they fell, sword in hand, upon the terrified and unsuspecting Indians. In three hours, not less thanfive hundred of the warriors were numbered with the dead, and nine hundred more secured as prisoners and slaves. The remainder escaped to the woods, thickets, and a lake which was near the town. Among the prisoners was Vitachuco himself, and [with?] many of his choicest warriors. * * * *

"A few days afterwards, the captured Indians rose upon their treacherous invaders, preferring death to ignominious slavery. This gave the Spaniards a pretext for putting to death, in cold blood, the whole of their prisoners. Some were tied to stakes and shot with arrows; others were cut to pieces or torn with dogs."

Horrible! Now hear the *humane* comment of Dr. MONETTE:

"Whether DE SOTO was justifiable in this atrocious act, must ever remain unknown."

We beg pardon. Men of ordinary humanity *know* that nothing could justify conduct so utterly diabolical. The savages themselves, as a race, were far more honorable and humane than their God-forsaken invaders.

Dr. MONETTE brings down his history to the year 1846, and, as may be supposed, in his history of the Missouri struggle, the settlement and annexation of Texas, and difficulties with Mexico, identifies himself with the slave party of this country.

The work is in two octavo volumes, well bound and handsomely printed.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, for January. Published by Leonard Scott & Co., New York. For sale by W. Adam, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington.

NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, for February. New York: Leonard Scott & Co. W. Adam, Pennsylvania avenue, agent for Washington.

BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE, for February. Leonard Scott & Co., New-York. For sale by W. Adam, Washington.

Blackwood's Magazine presents a great attraction this month, in the form of a long memoir of an eminent barrister, the late John William Smith, by Samuel Warren, author of the Diary of a Physician. It is written with power, and the doings and sufferings of Mr. Smith are detailed with that eloquent minuteness and simple pathos so characteristic of the biographer. It is an admirable production.

The North British Review has a metaphysical article of much value, on the Speculative Philosophy of Europe in the Nineteenth Century. It is in the style of Chalmers, and the author, whoever he may be, discusses the transcendental philosophy of Germany with great intelligence and freedom. He repudiates its extravagance and mysticism, applying to it the test of Scotch intellect, but sees in it Truth of the most exalted character. "In serious and sober earnest," he remarks, "these Germans are the noblest people on the face of the earth. We greatly prefer their taste and value for mental products to the gross utilitarianism of our own land—their Leipsic fair of books, to our own broadcloths and bales of merchandise; and it makes one's old and languid blood beat with the pulse of other days, when we read of their students, warm from the schools of glory, shouting in defiance to each other the watchwords of their respective philosophies, and almost ready to fight in defence of them. Altogether, it makes them a lighter and more ethereal race; and we rejoice that there should still be one country in the world uninfected by the breath of our mercantile society, and neither overrun by the frivolities nor debased by the sordidness of other coun-

tries and other climes." This is a little extravagant. The work of the world is not to be accomplished by scholastic tournaments, or battles among abstractions. Philosophy "ethereal" is very beautiful, and not unprofitable; but Philosophy *embodied in action*, if not so attractive, is far more potential; and it is in this kind of philosophy that the American and English people excel.

This number of the Edinburgh Review is the best we have seen for a long time. The leading article, on the Life and Character of David Hume, is a profound and an impartial analysis of the character of that distinguished historian. It does ample justice to his learning and subtile intellect, and also to that cold, phlegmatic temperament which invested him with the seeming of virtue.

Bancroft's History is reviewed in highly favorable terms. "We cannot take leave of this work," says the reviewer, "without again enforcing upon the mind of the English reader the necessity of perusing it with a catholic spirit. All that is of chief importance in it is entitled to his esteem. The real liberality, the general fairness, the labor and conscientious research it evinces, deserve, and we are assured will receive, his warmest approbation."

The reviewer also takes occasion to commend the policy of the Government of the United States, in acknowledging and rewarding literary merit by high station, and remarks: "We cannot subscribe to that philosophy which would have us believe that the United States is destined to be left, by her more gifted sons, to the guidance and control of inferior and turbulent spirits."

PRUSSIA AND POPULAR LIBERTY.

The first step is at last taken. Prussia is now on the high road to the enjoyment of popular liberty. When Germany was about being overrun by Napoleon, the King of Prussia, to nerve the arms of his subjects against the invader, solemnly promised them a Constitution. The danger passed, the promise was disregarded, and Prussia lingered under the indignity of this disgraceful falsehood. But, what the father failed to do, the son has at last done. The promulgation of a Constitution has long been contemplated by him, but deferred from time to time, till a more convenient season. The extinction of the republic of Cracow, it is thought, furnished an occasion. That act, it is said, was repugnant to the views of the Prussian monarch, and the new constitution is an evidence of his indignation. Russia and Austria, as might be expected, have significantly protested against this policy. The three-fold cord is broken. A breach is made in the bulwarks of despotism, through which marches the spirit of popular freedom.

"Henceforward, then," says the *London Economist*, "the alliance of the three Northern courts is severed, because they will have different interests to pursue. Constitutionalism is arrayed against absolutism. Should the fate of arms have to decide the cause of European freedom, Prussia will form the advanced guard of the independence of nations. Perhaps, under her ægis, Poland may be destined to rise from her prostration; nor is it improbable that Southern Germany, animated by her example, may claim a representative government from Austria; if so, Northern Italy may shake off her chains. We have disclaimed the character of the prophet, and yet we are predicting: but we will desist; and, though not venturing to anticipate the future, we will fervently express a hope that the emancipation of Prussia, through the influence of the Germanic mind, may aid in the universal overthrow of autocracy and absolutism."

The constitution is a very imperfect one, but better than none. Prussia is divided into eight provinces, in each of which has existed a local diet, which had the power of deliberating on such questions respecting provincial matters as might be submitted to it by the Central Government, without, however, the power of *deciding* them. By the royal letter of February 3d, these provincial assemblies are organized in a general one, to be convoked at Berlin, under the name of the United Diet of Prussia, and to consist of two Chambers, one representing the nobility, the other the gentry, towns, and boroughs. This assembly is to have power over the creation of taxes and loans, except in case of war, or where there shall be difficulty in convening the States.

The constitution is valuable chiefly as a stepping-stone to further restrictions on the monarchical power. "Revolutions never go backward," unless our own country prove an exception to the remark. Meantime, the following extract from a foreign journal will show how the liberty of the Prussian subject is still fettered. We have heard, in this country, extraordinary eulogies bestowed on the Prussian Government, for being so assiduous in the education of the people; but we put little faith in its wisdom or benevolence. Its system of education was intended to make any thing but freemen. Read the following:

"KONIGSBERG, JAN. 15.—The Minister of State, Von Rochow, had, in 1842, through an official notification, encouraged the establishment of libraries for the people in the smaller towns and rural districts; and in the trades' regulations of 17th of January, 1845, circulating libraries are again recommended as the means of promoting industry. At present, however, the Government appears to be of a different opinion, the following decree having been communicated to the magistrates, &c.:

"'The authorities are informed that the principle has been laid down in the highest quarter, that the establishment of circulating libraries cannot be tolerated in the rural districts, since they cannot be there sufficiently subjected to the superintendence of the police, since the necessity and usefulness of them cannot be recognised, and since, on the contrary, it is to be apprehended that they may have an unfavorable effect on the lower classes. It is likewise ordered that, notwithstanding the trades' regulations of the 17th July, 1845, in general the cabinet order of the 10th of March, 1840, remains in force, and that the Government officials are authorized to prohibit the establishment of circulating libraries, though the conditions under which they are sanctioned by the 48th section of the trades' regulations are complied with, as far as the qualification of the traders are required, provided other reasons connected with the police should render such a prohibition advisable.'"

THE TRUE WESLEYAN.

We take pleasure in transferring to our columns the following remarks of the True Wesleyan on our reply to its comments on our views respecting the Constitution. It is friendly, and we entirely reciprocate the good feeling it evinces. Your hand, brother!

After quoting our reply, it says:

"We feel called upon to make a few remarks on the above.

"1. We regret the spirit and temper of the article, as it appears to us, more even than we did the doctrines of the former. It is so unlike Dr. Bailey that we are sure he must have written it under some unfortunate influence, which led him greatly to magnify the faults of our article. We may employ his own language, and ask, 'What have we done to provoke such a paragraph?'

"2. We really and honestly supposed Dr. Bailey designed to advocate the constitutionality of slavery within the thirteen original States. We supposed every subject proposed for legislation in Congress must be constitutional or unconstitutional. If slavery be not constitutional in the States, it must be unconstitutional; and if it is unconstitutional, Congress may constitutionally abolish it. This we understood Dr. Bailey to deny, and, of course, we understood him as advocating the constitutionality of slavery within the States. And why he objects to this we are unable to learn from any thing he has said.

"Again: Dr. Bailey was aware that his position might be regarded as a concession to slavery, as the following will show. He said:

"'It is often remarked, that it is unwise to make any concessions to slavery. So it is. But it is always proper to make concessions demanded *by the truth*.'

"This was said in reply to the doctrine that slavery is unconstitutional; which clearly supposes that the writer did concede the constitutionality of slavery at the demand of truth. We repeat it, we honestly thought that Dr. Bailey not only did, but intended to advocate the constitutionality of slavery in the old thirteen States; but, if we are mistaken, we should rejoice to know it. In such case he must hold, as we do, that it is unconstitutional, as we conceive that it must be one or the other.

"3. Dr. Bailey takes great offence at our remark, that we supposed 'he had been assigned his post for a better and more noble purpose.' Well, we meant no offence. The remark was made under the impression that the Era was published by a committee, and that he was appointed by the committee to edit it. Of course, it is by his own acceptance. We thought of giving no offence, as it is our own position, for we edit the True Wesleyan by a similar appointment. Should any one say of the editor of the True Wesleyan, 'He was assigned his position,' it would be true, and we should take no offence at it. But as our remark was offensive, we take it back. We are perfectly willing that the Doctor should be understood as fighting upon his own hook, upon his own responsibility; we certainly do not wish that it should be understood that it is on our responsibility, so far as he advocates the constitutionality of slavery, nor did we intend to intimate any such thing.

"4. The Doctor's intimation that we assume to dictate or control him, we think uncalled for by anything we said. He inquires:

"'Are we to square our opinions by those of the editor of that paper, on a debatable question, on pain of censure?'

"We certainly do not expect or even desire him to square his opinions by ours, further than the honest convictions of his own independent judgment shall dictate; and how he could charge us, impliedly, with such a desire, is more than we can understand. But while he has so much independence, he should allow us enough to differ from his opinions 'on a debatable question,' and, as an editor, state that difference. This is all we have done, and yet he has censured us in terms having no parallel in our article of which he complains.

"Of course, we have attempted no reply to Dr. Bailey's arguments on the constitutional questions, our only object in this matter being to do him full justice on the score of the outrage which he appears to think we committed upon his rights and feelings. So far as our own feelings are concerned, we have nothing to ask, and lay nothing to his charge; because we are satisfied he could never have written such an article only under the influence of an utter misapprehension of our design and feelings in the article we penned. Having said thus much, we will leave Dr. Bailey and the public to judge if we are quite as bad as his article implies. If, as Dr. Bailey says, 'The True Wesleyan strangely forgets itself,' we hope not to forget the slave, nor be forgotten of his friends. Had Dr. Bailey been a little more forgetful of *himself*, he would probably have written in a kinder spirit of us."

COLONELS AND REQUISITIONS.

Of all ridiculous things turned up by this Mexican war, the *requisition on the President* by Col. Curtis takes the lead. The press everywhere has published it, as if a matter of course, without a word of comment on its ludicrous absurdity. A *Colonel* commanding a little town until recently unknown, making "*requisition*" on the President of the United States for *fifty thousand volunteers*, to defend and support Col. Curtis and the military stores at Camargo!

We insert the letter, or requisition, as a curiosity:

"HEADQUARTERS, CAMARGO, *March* 2.

"SIR: I send an officer to headquarters at Washington, making a requisition on the President of the United States for fifty thousand six months' volunteers. All communication has for several days been cut off between this place and the army above, and I see no adequate relief this side of New Orleans. I request you, therefore, to call out ten thousand men of this character of troops, and I anticipate they will be recognised under the call of the President.

"As fast as any considerable force can be accumulated, let them be forwarded to Brazos Santiago. All troops, as far as practicable, should be armed before leaving the United States, and the officers commanding companies should take in charge ammunition enough to distribute, in case of emergency, forty rounds at least.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"SAMUEL R. CURTIS, *Col. Com'g.*

"*To the Governor of Louisiana.*"

We suppose the provident Colonel was under the full persuasion that fifty thousand volunteers could be raised by a nod, and propelled with telegraphic despatch straight into Camargo, just in time to save him and his five hundred men from the clutches of Santa Anna!

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.

The Building Committee of the Smithsonian Institution have adopted, out of thirteen plans submitted to them, that of James Renwick, architect, of New York.

The successful competitors for the contract are James Dixon, of this city, and Gilbert Cameron, of New York, who have agreed to complete the edifice for $205,250, nearly thirty-seven thousand dollars less than the amount the Building Committee were authorized to expend.

The plan contemplates a museum, 200 feet by 50; a library, 90 by 50; a gallery of art, 125 feet long; two lecture rooms—one ample enough for an audience of 1,000 persons; the other connected with the laboratory; together with several smaller rooms. The style is the later Norman, as it prevailed in the twelfth century.

The material for the external walls is a freestone of great durability, from the vicinity of Seneca creek, on the Potomac, twenty miles above Washington, pinkish or gray in color, and becoming by exposure lighter and very hard, almost impenetrable. Marble would have cost $23,500 more, but it ought to have been selected.

BOUNDARY OF VIRGINIA AND OHIO.

It is generally understood that the State of Virginia, while she admits that, by her grant in 1783–'4, she ceded to the United States all that portion of her territory "lying and being to the northwest of the Ohio river," denies that she ceded any portion of her jurisdiction over the Ohio river itself. From that time to this, she has claimed a sovereignty co-extensive with the bed of the river Ohio between the banks, "at all times covered by the water *or not*."

Between one and two years ago, three citizens of Ohio, while engaged in helping certain fugitives from a boat on the Ohio bank, were attacked by several Virginians, seized, carried across the river, and immured in the jail at Parkersburg. The justification set up was, that, as the jurisdiction of Virginia extended to high-water mark on the Ohio side, and as the act of aiding a fugitive slave to escape, which is criminal by the laws of that State, was committed below high-water mark, the seizure of these citizens of Ohio was lawful. Much excitement prevailed. The people of Ohio felt themselves aggrieved. The people of Virginia stood upon their alleged rights. The prisoners were tried. The case lingered—was at last taken up to the highest court in the State, where, opinions being greatly divided, it was laid over, and the prisoners meanwhile were let out on merely nominal bail. Some months ago, the case was again taken up, and a majority of the judges decided that the jurisdiction of Virginia extended only to low-water mark, that the act charged as an offence was committed *above* that mark, and therefore it discharged the prisoners.

The Legislature of Ohio, last February, took the subject up, and passed the following resolutions:

Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That a board, to consist of three commissioners, citizens of Ohio, be appointed by the Governor of this State, who shall be authorized to meet a like board, to be appointed by the State of Virginia, at such time and place as may be agreed upon, and to enter into a compact with such Virginia commissioners, settling the jurisdiction or boundary, or both, upon that part of the Ohio river which divides the States of Ohio and Virginia: *Provided*, That such compact shall not be considered as binding, until the same be ratified by the said States, respectively, and by the Congress of the United States.

Resolved, That the Governor be authorized to supply any vacancy which may happen in the board of Ohio commissioners; and that said board report their proceedings under these resolutions to the General Assembly of Ohio, at the next session; and that they be allowed the sum of ——— dollars per day for each day they may be occupied in the business of their commission, and ——— dollars for every twenty miles of travel, to be paid out of any moneys in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, on the warrant of the Auditor of State, who shall adjust their accounts.

Resolved, That the Governor of this State forward a copy of these resolutions to the Governor of the State of Virginia.

The resolutions were forwarded to the Legislature of Virginia, and referred to a select committee, which reported a few days since.

The committee does not regard the judgment of the general court as "an authoritative exposition of the law," but is satisfied "that the sovereignty and jurisdiction of Virginia is co-extensive with the bed of the river Ohio between the banks, at all times covered by the water of the river or not; and that as well in regard to the soil of such bed when covered by the water, as when it is left bare by the temporary receding of the water."

It admits, however, that "there is room for great diversity of judgment" in relation to the rights of Virginia, and, deeming it desirable for both States, "and the common duty of both, if practicable, to settle by amicable negotiation and treaty this distracting controversy," it recommends the adoption of the foregoing resolutions, *mutatis mutandis*.

It will be observed that the proviso in the first resolution, in relation to the consent of Congress, obviates any constitutional objection to the course contemplated. We trust that the difficulty may be amicably and *honestly* settled.

THE ALIEN STATE TAX CASES.

The Supreme Court of the United States has directed a re-argument of the Boston and New York alien State tax cases. They have been set down for the second Monday in December next.

THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE—ABOLITION OF TURKISH SLAVE MARKETS.

The London Daily News, received by the last steam ship, contains a little paragraph, which has impressed us strongly as a very significant indication of the spirit and temper of the age in which we live, with respect to human slavery. Apart from this view of it, however, the event which it records is, of itself, highly cheering to the heart of humanity:

"ABOLITION OF SLAVE MARKETS IN TURKEY. The Sultan has ordered the abolition of slave markets. This is the first step in that change which, in its results, will be the most important that has ever taken place in the administration of the Ottoman empire. The Sultan has alluded publicly, in addressing his ministers, to this unhoped-for event, and his Majesty's words imply that he enters fully into the humane and philanthropic sentiment of Lord Palmerston, and that all the suggestions of his lordship on this subject will be finally adopted."—*Daily News.*

The slave markets of the Mussulmen have been fruitful themes of execration, on the part of Christians of all lands, from the time of the Holy Alliance of England and France, in the 13th century, against the Barbary slaveholders, to the present day. The revolting scenes of the examination, sale, and separation, of the miserable beings therein herded together, like beasts that perish, have furnished material for pages of sympathy or invective in every book of Eastern travel. Yet the fact has all along been, that Mohammedan slavery was far more lenient and tolerable than that existing in Christian countries. Slavery in the East owes its origin mainly to luxury; in Europe and America, to avarice. The Koran recognises slavery, but enjoins upon masters the duty of kindness and consideration towards their slaves, whom they are required to regard as their brethren. The decencies of Turkish life forbid the selling of slaves, when once they have given birth to a child which is the fruit of a union permitted by the master; or, after any lengthened period of service after the master's death. Manumission is common; it is regarded as an act of piety. The manumitted negro encounters no Christian prejudice against his color; on account of his former condition, he finds no distinction unfavorable to him, in any society he has the means of access to. The Mohammedan religion tolerates no distinctions of rank or color in the worship of God: the Mosque has no negro pew; black and white, rich and poor, kneel together on its floor; and the voices of master and servant unite in repeating, "God is Great, and Mohammed is His prophet!"

Yet, even this lenient form of servitude is now, it would seem, adjudged incompatible with the general scope and tenor, the true intent and spirit of the precepts of the Arabian prophet; for the great change which the Sultan proposes could not be carried into effect without the cooperation and cordial support of the Mufti of Constantinople, the religious head of Islam. Many of the moral precepts of the Koran are unquestionably inimical to slavery; and, in the words of Monkton Milnes, in his somewhat extravagant eulogy of the Oriental Faith, its author proclaims that

"in Allah's plan,
True men of every rank and race
Form but one family of man."

When Dr. Madden presented, in 1840, the address of the World's Anti-Slavery Convention to Mehemet Ali, that wily chief, with many protestations of his own desires for the abolition of slavery in his dominions, referred the English deputation to the Sheik El Islam, or Mufti of Constantinople. It was a difficult question, he said, to settle in Egypt, as it was one of law, and the proper tribunal was at Stamboul, and not at Alexandria. It will be remembered that the Dey of Algiers made the same appeal to Constantinople, when pressed by Lord Exmouth to acknowledge the European law in respect to prisoners of war. The British Government have undoubtedly profited by this pretended scruple of Mehemet Ali, and, directing their anti-slavery diplomacy to the head of Islamism, at the Court of Stamboul, have obtained from the Porte a formal condemnation of the trade in human beings, and the buying and holding of stolen men, duly sanctioned by the Mufti.

Tunis, one of the most ancient and considerable slave markets on the Barbary coast—the terror and abhorrence of Christendom for many centuries, against which the fleets of England, France, Genoa, and Venice, combined in the fourteenth century, and whose territory was the theatre of the romantic invasion of our countryman, Gen. Eaton—it is well known is now a free State, unpolluted with slave marts or slavery. Little did the bold American adventurer who, at the beginning of the present century, led his liberating army across the desert, storming the battlements of Derne, and repulsing with his hundreds the thousands of the Bey of Tunis, and proclaiming freedom to the slave wherever he planted the American standard, dream that a lapse of forty years would show Tunis a free State; her old slave marts destroyed; her bondmen, of all climes and colors, rejoicing in a freedom, not enforced at the cannon's mouth, but the voluntary gift of a successor of the slave-trading monarch against whom he was then contending for the release of his captive countrymen; her soil sacred from the footprints of a slave; her flag floating over decks trodden only by freemen; while the close of the same period would witness his own land of Christianity and Democracy tilled by three millions of slaves, and traversed by slave gangs; her flag floating, not as it did over Derne, a signal of hope to the enslaved, but flapping over cargoes of human flesh, from the mast of the domestic slave trader; her very capital city, the home and hearth of her honor and glory, a market for the sale of men, and women, and children, a rival of Tunis herself a century ago!

While we rejoice at this good news from the East, painful questions present themselves to our mind. What can be said of a democracy which employs all its resources for the extension and perpetuation of slavery, in preference to a despotism which abolishes that curse? What of a Christianity which regards slavery as a relation compatible with the doctrines of the Master it professes to honor, when even Mohammedans are abolishing it, to use the words of the Bey of Tunis, "for the glory of God, and to distinguish man from the brute creation?" While the Koran, in the hands of the Mufti of Constantinople and the priests of El Azhai at Cairo, is made the instrument of freedom and humanity, shall the Bible, in the hands of Bishops, and Evangelical Alliances, and General Assemblies, enslave the world? Let all honest believers in the truths of Christianity and republicanism ponder these things.

J. G. W.

FRENCH SLAVERY.

The able Paris correspondent of the Boston Atlas, in a late letter, spoke of a distinguished ecclesiastic, a frequent visiter at the Tuileries, Father Moressa, a jet black African priest from the banks of the Senegal. He has the reputation of having been an efficient missionary of the Catholic church. He was a welcome guest at the tables of the nobility, where he has exerted his influence for the emancipation of his enslaved brethren in the French colonies; and the writer in the Atlas attributes to his exertions the petition of six hundred Catholic priests for the abolition of slavery.

We perceive that this petition has been presented by the Count de Montalembert, at the opening of the French Chambers. It is proposed by the French Abolitionists, to establish immediately a periodical, devoted to the subject of emancipation, for the explanation and wider dissemination of their views.

J. G. W.

A MASS CONVENTION.

A mass convention of the Liberty party of Indiana will be held at Greensburgh, Henry county, Indiana, on Thursday and Friday, the 15th and 16th of April ensuing. The *Indiana Freeman* says, "It is earnestly hoped that there will be a large gathering of the friends of liberty, from all parts of the State, at that time."

SUMMARY.

The New York Herald, not satisfied with the turmoil going on in the world, is propagating rumors of future trouble and revolution. It insists that France, England, and Spain, have some design on Mexico. They are to unite in a holy alliance, for the sake of converting Mexico into a monarchy, and enthroning the Infante Don Enrique. The Mexican correspondent of the *Herald* furnishes particulars. A likely story, to be sure. And what would England gain by extending French and Spanish influence to Mexico?

Temperance in Vermont.—A State vote was lately given in Vermont upon the license question; and the result was—no license, 21,798; license, 13,707.

Horrible.—The dwelling of Augustus Holdridge, in the village of North Blenheim, New York, was lately consumed by fire. Mrs. Holdridge, with five children, perished in the flames. The family was asleep when the fire broke out. The heroic mother was seen twice outside of the burning house, but her determination to save her offspring led her back to the flames, in which she perished. Mr. Holdridge, with his youngest child, aged six years, escaped. A daughter, aged 19, leaped through a window, but was so much burned that her life is despaired of.

Fire.—During the performance the other evening at the Odeon, in this city, a lamp containing camphine was overset, and the stage was instantly in flames. The panic of the audience was terrible. Two men jumped through the window upon the pavement, a distance of twenty-five feet. A gentleman leaped over the head of a lady, and the theatre resounded with shrieks. The flame was suppressed by throwing a cloak over it, and no serious damage was done.

This camphine is almost as dangerous as gunpowder. Cincinnati ought to ship plenty of her lard oil for Washington.

Another Destructive Fire took place on the 20th ult., in Columbus, Georgia. The large warehouse, known as Harnden's warehouse, was burnt down. Loss estimated at $60,000.

Despatches from Gen. Taylor.—The *Washington Union* publishes the latest despatches received from Gen. Taylor, the last dated February 14th. The General had been reinforced by the arrival of Brig. Gen. Wool, with the remaining corps left in rear. Although advised by Gen. Scott to evacuate Saltillo, he had finally resolved to hold not only that place, but the post at which he was encamped, Agua Nueva.

"Not to speak of the pernicious moral effect upon volunteer troops of falling back from points which we have gained, there are powerful military reasons for occupying this extremity of the pass rather than the other. The scarcity of water and supplies for a long distance in front compels the enemy either to risk an engagement in the field or to hold himself aloof from us; while, if we fall back on Monterey, he could establish himself strongly at Saltillo, and be in position to annoy more effectively our flanks and our communications."

Rumors reached him continually of a projected attack upon him, but he thought them groundless. He adds, however, "*the command is always held in readiness for the enemy.*"

Cist's Advertiser, of Cincinnati, formerly published as a weekly, then united for a time with the Daily Cincinnati Enquirer, and at last discontinued, has lately been revived as a daily. It is, altogether, a peculiar and a peculiarly interesting paper, depending for its interest, not upon news or current events, but upon incidents, narratives, disquisitions, curious facts and statistics relating specially to the early history, to the growth and present condition of the West.

By the way, if our good friend, the editor, permit his printers again to call our paper the "*Nantucket Era*," we shall not stop at *puffing*, but *blow* him up.

Murders in Kentucky.—The *Bardstown (Ky.) Gazette* says, that "during the last three or four months" it has had "to chronicle some half a dozen cases of conflict and death, as occurring in our State, sometimes under the head of murder, sometimes as manslaughter, and again as justifiable homicide, according pretty much to the character and wealth of the accused and the victim." It relates another horrible tragedy in the neighborhood of Bardstown. A dispute arose between Judge Brown, of a Southern district, and Greenbury Gaither, former Police Judge of Bardstown. The parties were brothers-in-law, and the difficulty took place at the Gaither farm. From words they proceeded to blows; deadly weapons were used, and Gaither was killed on the spot. Brown delivered himself up to the authorities, was tried by three magistrates, and *acquitted*, much to the surprise of the community.

Powers.—The editor of the *Cincinnati Advertiser* learns from an authentic source that Mr. POWERS, the sculptor, is preparing to return to his native country. It will take about eighteen months to complete his present engagements.

Disunion.—According to the *Liberator*, petitions for disunion have been sent to the Legislature from forty-three towns in Massachusetts, signed by 2,834 persons, 1,694 of whom are legal voters.

Shipwreck.—The barque *Cactus*, of Kennebeck, bound for Cork, went ashore a few days since on the east side of Cape Cod, and all hands perished.

The Emancipator, of Boston, has lately came out in new type, and is greatly improved in its general appearance.

At a meeting of the colored citizens of the Northern Liberties and Kensington, held pursuant to public notice given, on Friday evening, the 12th instant, Charles Davis was called to the chair, when the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

Whereas an afflicting calamity has befallen the people of Ireland and Scotland, and hundreds are starving to death for the want of the commonest food, and we believing it right to sympathize with and assist our fellow-men of all climes and countries; therefore, be it

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed, to collect and receive such contributions as may be made.

Resolved, That all contributions, when collected, be forwarded to Frederick Douglass, now travelling in Ireland and Scotland; and we recommend all contributions made by the colored people of this country to be forwarded to him, to be distributed at his discretion.

Isaac W. Riggs, James Hallowell, Francis Faucet, John Diton, and Moses Davis, were appointed the committee in accordance with the first resolution.

CHARLES DAVIS, *President.*

CYRUS BURRIS, *Secretary.*

An arrival at the South, from Havana, brings melancholy news from the California regiment. We trust that it is exaggerated. The captain of a whaler, who came overland to Panama, and thence to Havana, reports that the ships Susan Drew and Loo Choo had arrived at Callao with a part of the California regiment. He also states that the priests in California had "poisoned the minds of the Indians and half-breeds against the Americans to that degree that some thirty-odd of the troops had been enticed into the interior of the country by promises of friendship, where they were butchered, under circumstances of the most revolting barbarity." Another report makes the number of wretched victims to be from forty to sixty.—*Richmond Enquirer.*

Twenty Buildings Burned.—A destructive fire broke out at Towanda, Pennsylvania, recently, in the roof of a building occupied as a store, and, before it was extinguished, laid waste twenty buildings in the west part of the town.

☞ The following brief obituary reached us at Cincinnati, but, owing to the confusion attendant on removal, was mislaid.

OBITUARY.

DR. BAILEY: By inserting the following notice in your valuable paper, you will oblige some of your readers.

"*The dead are blest, if they die in Him who died for them.*"

Died at Huntsburg, August 16, 1846, of consumption, Deacon Asa Smith, aged 37. By his removal, his family have sustained an irreparable loss. The church has one less to seek its purity and prosperity, and the slave has lost both a *praying* and an *acting* friend. The power of divine grace was conspicuous in sustaining him when heart and flesh failed, and giving him perfect victory. For months he was enabled to regard approaching death with complete composure. He was much distressed for breath, and once remarked, "I never expect to draw another easy breath. Which way could I turn for relief, if God was not my friend? But now all is well. My Redeemer liveth. It is better to depart, and be with Christ." When dying, he said he felt at peace with God, and at peace with men; and one of the last tokens he could give to his afflicted friends was the assurance that he felt safe in the Saviour's arms.

"Death's seal is set—his work on earth is done—
The last fierce conflict past, the victory won."

☞ Here is something for the little folk. We had almost forgotten them. The following lines will touch their finest feelings.—*Ed. Era.*

LINES

For Everet S. Smith, on the Death of his little Brother, Arlington A., who died June 17, 1846, aged two years.

BY E. M. S.

Oh, mother! I was thinking then
Of little Arlington;
I love to think of him; but Oh!
'Tis sad to think he's gone.

I think of all our pretty plays,
And how he used to talk,
When, with his little hand in mine,
We took a run or walk.

Oh! then I often used to think
How happy I should be,
When Arlington was old enough
To go to school with me.

Oh! how he loved to cull a rose
For our dear sick papa,
In hopes to win a smile and kiss
From him and dear mama.

I think how he began to droop,
And then how sick he lay,
And how I kiss'd his sweet pale face,
And wept to hear you say—

That when the morning sun arose
I'd have no little brother,
For God would take his spirit home;
And so it was, dear mother.

How cold his cheek, how white his brow,
How still the little hand;
You called him once our bird of song,
But now our smitten lamb.

I miss his fairy footsteps now,
I miss his merry smile,
I miss him when I come from school,
I miss him all the while.

Mama, I love to go with you
To little brother's tomb;
He sleeps so sweet and quiet there,
'Tis not a place of gloom.

And there the sunbeams brightly glow,
The bird sweet music pours,
And we will plant some roses there,
And strew the spot with flowers.

You tell me he will rise again,
More beautiful than ever;
I've read it, too, how all the dead
Will rise and live forever.

You say his little spirit lives
In a better world than this;
And I have read how Jesus said,
Of such my kingdom is.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

A GENERAL VIEW.

LONDON, 3*d month* 2*d*, 1847.

To the Editor of the National Era:

ESTEEMED FRIEND: It affords me much pleasure to open a correspondence with thee, and to be able to inform thee that the friends of the anti-slavery cause in this country, who have had the opportunity of perusing the "Era," are, I believe, very favorably impressed with its character. We cannot but entertain the cheering conviction that it will be found to be one among the many instruments that the Almighty will be pleased to bless for the overthrow, and may it be speedily accomplished, of the gigantic evil of American slavery. I send thee, at the foot of this letter, the names of a few persons who wish to receive the Era regularly, some of whom are not, I expect, unknown to thee by reputation. I know not whether the abolitionists of the United States read accounts of the progress of anti-slavery sentiments in other countries with the same interest as that with which we peruse the facts that attest that progress in their country. Perhaps it would be unreasonable to expect this, engaged, as they are, in so arduous a contest at their own doors, or under the same Federal Government. Still, I cannot but believe that you have often been cheered in your struggle by the history of the contest for humanity and justice which was so long waged in Great Britain, and which has been so eminently successful. I wish that that history were better known than it is. There are few annals that would be found to afford a more stirring incentive to virtuous and persevering action, or which are associated with names more distinguished for eminent philanthropy or devoted piety. It is scarcely needful that I should either record the chief facts, or the names connected with that history. The slave trade was declared illegal for British subjects by an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons, after efforts that had been unavailing for twenty years. At a much later period, an act passed for the abolition of slavery—the result of an active and determined struggle of ten years. The act for the abolition of slavery was accompanied, as is well known, with an apprenticeship system that was to have continued six years, but which, owing to the hostility to it manifested by the people of England, was terminated at the close of four years in the principal British colonies. The names of Granville Sharpe, Clarkson, Wilberforce, Stephen, Macauley, Allen, and Cropper, have doubtless a fame amongst you, as well as with us, for their invaluable services to the cause of abolition, and for their many excellences. In thus noticing the names of some of my own countrymen, I do not, and cannot, forget those of venerable and excellent men who have labored amongst you, including some who were members of the same religious society with myself. A Clarkson was instructed by the writings of Benezet, and no member of the Society of Friends in Great Britain has labored with greater devotedness on behalf of the slave than did the meek and self-denying disciple of his Lord, John Woolman. But I proceed to refer very briefly to the progress and present state of the anti-slavery cause on the continent of Europe. France was visited by a small deputation of British Abolitionists about fourteen years since, when an anti-slavery society was formed, of which some of the most distinguished men in that country have long been members. It includes the Duc de Broglie, the Duc d'Harcourt, Hippolyte Passy, De Tocqueville, Beaumont, Count de Tracy, G. De Lafayette, Isambert, and many others. Some of us had cherished the hope that the Society would, ere this, have succeeded in freeing their country from the disgrace and guilt of slavery. The cause has, however, too long been confided chiefly to political men, many of whom are liable to be influenced by other considerations than those which relate to the rights of the slave. Latterly, petitions for the immediate abolition of slavery have been presented to the French Legislature, signed by persons of a great variety of character and social position, including large numbers of the clergy and of workmen. A monthly periodical, called the "Abolitioniste," has been issued for some years by the French Society for the Abolition of Slavery, and a second anti-slavery monthly publication is about to be, or is already, in circulation. There has also appeared, during the past year, an admirable tract, advocating the immediate abolition of French colonial slavery, by G. F. de Felice, an able writer and professor in the Protestant College of Montauban. In Holland, much progress has been made in the anti-slavery cause within the last few years, and a periodical has been circulated for some time past, principally devoted to that object. It is called a "Contribution to a Knowledge of the Dutch and Foreign Colonies." The editor, A. S. Rueb, is an able man, and is assisted by a committee. The work has the sanction of persons occupying a highly respectable station in society throughout the principal towns of Holland, whose names are attached to it, and I am informed that the sale defrays the expense of the publication. Addresses to the King of Holland, praying for the abolition of the slavery in his colonial possessions, were presented, some years since; and there is reason to believe that the Government are not indifferent to the opinion respecting slavery which has been so unequivocally expressed. In Denmark, there is a decided advance in anti-slavery sentiments; and an address to the King of that country, praying him to take measures for the abolition of slavery in the Danish West India islands, was agreed to at the last session of the States, held at Copenhagen. In Sweden, measures have been adopted by the King, at the request of the Diet, for the termination of slavery in St. Bartholomew. The political changes in Spain and Portugal are unfavorable to nearly every wise and good measure, otherwise I should not despair of something being done for the abolition of slavery in the foreign possessions of those countries, especially the latter. Several Portuguese noblemen, amongst whom are the Viscount Sa de Bandiera, Count Lavradio, and the Duke of Palmella, have advocated the abolition of slavery in the East Indian territories belonging to Portugal. In visits to Spain, made by the writer and another friend, there were found in that country persons who were decidedly favorable to the abolition of slavery. I must refer thee to the number of the Anti-Slavery Reporter just published, for the latest news on the subject to which it relates, amongst which thou wilt not fail to notice the abolition of the slave market in Constantinople. Assuredly Washington will not be long behind the capital of Turkey in the suppression of a spectacle abhorrent to every feeling of humanity, and which is a shameful reproach to a country professing Christianity.

I remain thy sincere friend and well-wisher,

GEORGE WM. ALEXANDER.

P. S. 3*d month* 3*d*.—I have just seen a French newspaper, *La Reforme*, which contains information that an anti-slavery society has been recently formed at Lyons.

DOMESTIC CORRESPONDENCE.

FREEDOM IN THE OLD WORLD—RELIEF TO IRELAND—TEMPERANCE IN BOSTON—A MODERN HERCULES.

BOSTON, *March* 27, 1847.

The scene of excitement which occurred in our streets last Saturday evening, on the arrival of the Hibernia, was amusing enough—the whole of State street, near the Exchange, being filled with people standing "*auribus erectis*." As soon as the foreign papers arrived, a rush was made for Redding's and Jordan & Wiley's, which threatened the entire destruction of the offices. The counter at Redding's was almost instantly stripped of its brass railing and other "fixins," the door and window glass smashed to pieces, and the "*disjecta membra*" scattered on the pavement. The crowd continued till a late hour in the evening.

Among the most interesting intelligence received is that of the increasing efforts which are made, in various European countries, to "extend the area of freedom." It seems that the young Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, among the first fruits of his reformed character, has commanded the immediate abolition of the slave markets. In France, the Catholic clergy, to the number of six hundred and forty-eight, have sent a petition, asking an immediate and total abolition of slavery in the French provinces, to Count Montalembert, which that nobleman has laid before the Chamber of Peers. Among the signatures, there are twenty-seven of the cures of Paris. Another paper states, in addition to the above, that measures will soon be taken by the Dutch Government for the total abolition of the domestic slavery which prevails at the present time in the island of Java.

The amount of specie brought over by the Hibernia has been variously estimated, but is probably between two and three millions of dollars. The amount received at the custom-house, on goods imported, is about one hundred thousand dollars.

The ship Jamestown, loaned by the Congress of the United States to carry aid to Ireland, has at length received her freight, and yesterday cleared at the custom-house, and only awaits a favorable wind to proceed on her errand of mercy. Her destination is Cork, and she carries about eight thousand barrels of breadstuffs, besides provisions and water for the voyage. She is commanded by Capt. R. B. Forbes, and has on board in all forty-nine souls. Her first officer is Capt. Macoudray, a retired shipmaster of Dorchester; and Capt. Farwell, another shipmaster, goes as second officer. Both of these gentlemen have nobly volunteered, without the expectation of any remuneration. The sailing of the Jamestown is an event honorable alike to all concerned—to our people and our Government—and furnishes a most cheering proof that the spirit of Christianity does exist in the land, and that under its teachings the golden rule is at least at times substituted for that selfish policy which closes our hearts against the wants of our fellow-creatures. "God speed the bark!"

In olden time, the task of cleansing the Augean stable was thought to be a poser; and though Hercules did effect it, even he was forced to call in the aid of a friendly river to assist him. A task not less difficult seems to have been undertaken by our city fathers, through their agent, the chief marshal, who appears likely to immortalize himself as a modern Hercules, by his labor in bringing to light the vicious and profligate that infest the lanes and alleys of the town, and in breaking up the dens of vice where they are accustomed to congregate. On Saturday night last, he came down upon a place of somewhat fashionable resort, in a manner that essentially disturbed the amusements of the evening. A house in Post Office avenue, known as the Terrapin Coffee House, having fallen under his suspicion, he suddenly made his appearance there about 9 o'clock in the evening. Dire was the confusion that ensued. The rooms were filled with persons, most of whom were engaged in the interesting occupation of "shaking props," and similar games. A simultaneous rush was made for the doors and windows, but, alas! they were too late! Our friend the marshal was not so green; and being opposed to the vicarious office which these latter apertures in brick and mortar are sometimes made to perform, he had taken the quiet precaution to station a policeman at each—a serious obstacle to the much-desired egress. The doors were equally well secured, and, escape being almost impossible, forty-nine worthies were secured and marched in procession to the lock-up.

Quite a crowd assembled to witness the proceedings, and the "*nabbed*" were greeted with loud shouts of laughter, as they passed along, many of them being recognised as well-known merchants and clerks of the city. On Monday the parties were examined in the police court, plead guilty, and were severally fined $2 and costs, which was immediately paid, and the *gentlemen* liberated. During the transfer of the prisoners to the jail on the evening of the arrest, two of them managed to escape, taking with them a pair of handcuffs belonging to one of the policemen, but which they could not *conveniently* leave behind. A day or two since, a package was left at Leveret street jail, containing the handcuffs and the following note:

"MR. PIERCE: Not being very partial to ornaments, I return your bracelets, hoping they will do you more good than they have done me.

"Yours, very suddenly, TITUS A. PEEP."

In consequence of the large number of recent "liquor" indictments, the "striped pig" has appeared under some new phases, in different parts of the State. One fellow, who fears being punished for his misdeeds, has contrived to make himself invisible. He has partitioned off a corner of his store, and there sits concealed, and the person desiring to buy places his money in a sliding drawer, which is drawn in, and immediately shoved back with a glass of the required beverage. Thus the drinker is supplied without seeing the seller; consequently, no complaint can be made, as no one knows from whom he purchases.

There was quite a row last night in Faneuil Hall, at a temperance meeting, which had been called for an expression of feeling on the license question. The rummers assembled in crowds, and, outnumbering the other party, chose a chairman and secretary of their own. All attempts of the temperance men to speak were prevented by the mob, and a scene of much confusion ensued, and the meeting broke up an entire failure.

G. F. B.

FROM MEXICO AND THE ARMY—REVOLUTIONS AND BATTLES.

Yucatan has undergone another revolution, the Mexican party having this time come into power.

We have also news of a revolution in the city of Mexico on the night of the 26th February. A portion of the National Guards, acting, it is said, in harmony with the clergy, made its first essay at a *pronunciamento*. Gen. CANALIZO, at the head of 1,000 men, tried in vain to arrest the movement. GOMEZ FARIAS was displaced, and Gen. SALAS appointed his successor. Santa Anna was continued at the head of the army.

The rumors of a battle between Gen. Taylor and Santa Anna are confirmed. No official account has been received, and nothing definite is known. But Capt. Brown, a passenger in the W. C. Preston, which arrived at New Orleans on the 20th, has furnished the *Delta* with a report of such particulars as are generally believed at the Brazos. According to this, Gen. Taylor was attacked at Agua Nueva, and, after a sharp battle, fell back on Saltillo. Here he was again attacked, and was victorious. Retreating in good order to Monterey, he expected Santa Anna to follow him, but, being disappointed, he sallied out and attacked Santa Anna. A terrible engagement took place, which resulted in the total defeat of the former.

The force of Santa Anna is said to have been 25,000; that of Gen. Taylor five or six thousand.

The loss sustained by the former is reported at 4,000 killed; that of Gen. Taylor at 1,100.

At the latest date, it was said that the Mexican General was striving to rally his forces, and that URREA had fallen in Gen. Taylor's rear with 8,000 cavalry.

The General was safely entrenched at Monterey.

Such is the report. It is doubtless greatly exaggerated. There is little doubt, however, that there has been a battle, and that Gen. Taylor has made a successful resistance.

Our streets last Monday were alive with rumors that Vera Cruz had been surrendered without the firing of a gun, and the castle blown up. The Government has received no such advices.

The *Union* says:

"A letter, which we have seen, has been received this day from Mexico, which states that on the previous evening the steamer Mississippi had arrived from Vera Cruz. From the reliable accounts brought by her, it would appear that Santa Anna had ordered the troops to be withdrawn from the city, leaving the castle to defend itself. According to an order issued by Santa Anna, it appears that his hopes are to make a stand at the Puerto Nacional—the National Bridge—about 23 miles from Vera Cruz."

Such is the sum and substance of all the news received from Mexico and the American army.

GREAT BATTLE—LATER INTELLIGENCE.

The schooner John Bell, arrived at New Orleans on the 23d instant, brings authentic intelligence of a great battle. An extra of the Register and Journal of Mobile brings the news to this city.

Memoranda of the Battle of Buena Vista; prepared for the Editors of the Picayune, by Lieut. J. J. C. Bibb, U. S. A.

Dr. Turner, of the United States army, who arrived at Matamoros on the 9th instant, from Monterey, brought intelligence of another victory over the Mexican army. The scene of action was at Buena Vista, a hacienda about six miles west of Saltillo. The fighting commenced on the 22d of February, and ended on the 23d. Santa Anna retired to Agua Nueva, a distance of ten miles, leaving four thousand killed and wounded upon the field. Santa Anna's adjutant general and many other officers and men were taken prisoners. The loss on our part was seven hundred killed and wounded. Santa Anna's force amounted to at least 15,000 men; that of Gen. Taylor to about 5,000, almost entirely volunteers. His army is composed of Washington's, Bragg's, and Thomas's batteries, one squadron of the 1st and one of the 2d dragoons, the Arkansas and Kentucky cavalry, a brigade of Illinois and one of Indiana volunteers, the 1st Mississippi and 2d Kentucky regiments, and one company of Texas volunteers. Dr. Turner brought a list of 63 officers killed and wounded.

Regulars.—Killed: Capt. Lincoln, Ass't Adjutant General. Wounded: Capt. E. F. Stein, 1st dragoons, severely; Capt. S. G. French, 3d artillery, severely; Capt. J. J. P. O'Brien, 4th artillery, slightly.

Mississippi Rifles.—Killed: Lieut. R. S. Moore and F. McNulty. Wounded: Col. J. Davis, severely; Capt. J. M. Sharpe, severely; Lieut. A. B. Corwin, slightly; Lieuts. Pozen and Stockton, slightly.

First Kentucky Cavalry.—Killed: Adjt. Vaughan. Wounded: One captain and three lieutenants, no names given.

Arkansas Cavalry.—Killed: Col. A. Yell and Capt. A. Porter. Wounded: Lieut. S. A. Redder.

Second Kentucky Foot Rifles.—Killed: Col. McKee and Lieut. Col. H. Clay; Capt. O. W. Morse and Capt. W. T. Willis. Wounded: Lieuts. E. S. Barbour, Withers, and Mosier.

Indiana Brigade.—Wounded: Gen. Lane.

Second Regiment.—Killed: Capt. Kidder, Capt. Walker, and Lieut. Parr. Wounded: Capts. Saunders and Osborn, and Lieuts. Cayen, Pennington, Morse, Lewis, Davis, and Epperson.

Third Regiment.—Killed: Capt. Faggat. Wounded: Maj. Gorman and Capt. Sleep.

Illinois Brigade, First Regiment.—Killed: Col. J. J. Hardin, commanding; Capt. Zabriskie and Lieut. Haughton. Wounded: Lieuts. J. L. McConnell and H. Adams.

Second Regiment.—Killed: Capt. Woodward; Lieuts. Brunton, Ferguson, Fletcher, Rollins, Bartheson, Athuson, and Price. Wounded: Capts. Coffee and Baker; Lieuts. Pickett, Engleson, Steel, and West; and Adjt. Whiteside.

Texas Company.—Killed: First Lieut. Campbell and Second Lieut. Leonhard. Wounded: Capt. Conner.

The official despatches of Gen. Taylor have been cut off. Col. Morgan's regiment, Ohio volunteers, having been reinforced by a command from Monterey, had reached that place in safety.

Col. Curtis, of Ohio, with one company (Capt. Hunter's) of the 2d U. S. dragoons, his own regiment, one of Indiana volunteers, the Virginia regiment, and I think some Texas rangers, in all about 2,000 men, was about to leave Camargo to attack Gen. Urrea, who is said to be about thirty miles south of that place, with an army of from 4,000 to 5,000 men, principally rancheros. He is believed to have with him only 1,500 regular troops.

We annex Santa Anna's own account of the actions of Buena Vista, as translated for the Tampico Sentinel. We have the original Spanish account in our possession.

CAMP NEAR BUENA VISTA, *Feb.* 23, 1847.

EXCELLENT SIR: After two days of battle, in which the enemy, with a force of 8,000 to 9,000 men, and 26 pieces of artillery, lost five of his positions, three pieces of artillery, and two flags, I have determined to go back to Agua Nueva, to provide myself with provisions, not having a single biscuit or a grain of rice left. Thanks to the position occupied by the enemy, he has not been completely beaten; but he left on the field about 2,000 dead. Both armies have been cut to pieces, but the trophies of war will give you an idea on which side has been the advantage. We have struggled with hunger and thirst during forty hours, and if we can provide ourselves with provisions, we will go again to charge the enemy.

The soldiers under my command have done their duty, and covered the honor of the Mexican nation with glory. The enemy has seen that neither his advantageous position, nor the broken nature of the ground, nor the rigor of the season, (for it has been raining during the action,) could prevent the terrible charge with the bayonet, which left him terrified.

SANTA ANNA.

BREAKING OF THE TELEGRAPH WIRES—FATAL ACCIDENT.—A most singular accident occurred on the Boston and Albany railroad, on Saturday last, 27th instant. A freight train was passing along at a rapid rate between Boston and Springfield, when the wire of the electric telegraph, which runs within a few feet of the track, suddenly broke. It is a practice for the brakemen to stand or sit on the top of the cars. The force of the wind, it is supposed, carried the flying end of the wire against the train. It struck the locomotive, wound around the smoke pipe, snapped, and swept across the top of the train. The forward brakeman was badly cut about his head and arms. His right arm will probably be amputated. Mr. Pratt, the conductor, who was in the middle, was slightly injured. The last brakeman, named Coleman, was instantly killed. The wire seems to have wound around and dragged him to the ground. His body was horribly cut and bruised.—*N. Y. Sun.*

THE STORM OF FRIDAY NIGHT LAST was no doubt more severely felt south than in this quarter, though it was exceedingly severe here. It thundered, lightened, rained, and snowed fiercely in Philadelphia. Many of the magnetic poles have been prostrated by the wind; and on Bergen Hill the earth caved in, and was washed over the railroad, completely stopping the passage of all the locomotives until Saturday evening. It was a severe "norther," as they say down south, although these storms invariably begin in the south.

PUBLISHER'S NOTICES.

☞ Mr. V. B. Palmer, at his newspaper agency, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore, is duly authorized to procure advertisements for this paper.

☞ Within the last week we have received two or three requests to have the direction of papers changed, without informing us to what post office, county, or State, the papers have heretofore been sent. Without these, we cannot change the direction.

THE MARKETS.

BALTIMORE, *March* 27, 2 P. M.

Flour.—The market for Howard street flour is rather quiet. Sales this morning of about 400 barrels, at $6.12 1-2, which price holders are firm in asking, and unwilling to take less. Offers of $6 and $6.06 1-4 have been refused to a considerable extent. The receipt price is unsettled. Supply light. We quote Susquehanna flour at $6.12 1-2.

Grain.—The receipts of Maryland wheat are light. Good to prime reds command 120 to 130 cents. Sales since yesterday of about 6,000 bushels Pennsylvania red, prime quality, at 133 cents; white corn, 77 a 78 cents; yellow corn, 83 a 85 cents, with sales; oats, 45 cents; rye, 81 a 83 cents; clover seed dull at $4 a $4.50 for good to prime.

Beef Cattle.—Demand inactive, and prices have declined. There were 470 head offered at the scales yesterday, of which 60 were driven to Philadelphia; 34 remain unsold; and 376 head were sold to packers and butchers, at $2.87 1-2 a $3.87 1-2 per 100 pounds on the hoof, equal to $5.75 a $7.50, net, and averaging $3.25.

Hogs.—Sales of live hogs are making at $6.50 to $7, chiefly at $6.75.

Provisions.—We hear of no large sales of pork. We quote mess at $15.50 a $16, and prime at $13.25 a $13.75; a lot of shoulders, in dry salt, sold at 6 7-8 cents. Mess beef is held at $12.50 a $13, No 1 at $10.50 a $11, and prime at $8.50 a $9; sales of prime mess, in tierces, at $18, and prime at $9 per barrel. Not much doing in bacon. We quote shoulders at 7 1-2 a 7 3-4 cents, sides at 8 1-2 a 9 cents, and hams at 9 1-2 a 10 cents. No large sales of lard making; the last sales were 10 cents for kegs and 9 1-2 cents for barrels.

NEW YORK, *February* 29, 2 1-2 P. M.

Cotton, 200 bales only sold; prices steady.

Flour steady.

Eleven thousand bushels Cadiz salt were sold last week, at 24 1-2 cents per bushel, four months.

Corn, 10,000 bushels Jersey yellow, at 95 cents.

Sterling better; considerable sales at 4 1-2 premium; the rate is 3 1-2 a 4 1-4; francs, 5f.44 a 7 1-2.

A vessel was chartered, to load at Philadelphia for Havre, at $1.87 1-2 for flour, and 50 cents per bushel for wheat in bags.

Sales at the New York Stock Exchange: $5,500 United States 6's, of 1850, at 101 5-8; $500 New York State 6's, of 1852, at 102; $1,000 Ohio 6's, of 1856, at 94 3-4 $1,000 Pennsylvania 5's, at 70 1-2; $3,000 Illinois special bonds, at 38 1-2.

BOSTON, *February* 27.

Sales of Ohio and Michigan flour at $7.37 1-2, and Ohio round hoop at $7.12 1-2. Southern flour had not advanced so much; sales during the week, of various kinds, at $7.12 1-2 a $7.18 3-4 and $7.25, according to quality. The stock of all kinds of flour was small, and the receipts by the Western railroad were light. Northern corn sold at 96 a 97 cents; there was a large supply of corn in market. Oats were steady at 47 cents. White beans, $1.37 to $1.62 1-2 per bushel.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

NEW HAVEN, *February* 23, 1847.

DEAR SIR: In your paper of the 11th instant is the following:

"The National Era publishes an 'Extract of a letter from Connecticut,' in which we find the following statement, to which we most respectfully except:

"'A pro-slavery ministry, church, and religious meetings, are eating out the vitals of the Liberty party in Massachusetts.'

"Don't believe it, Brother Bailey; and most emphatically do we object to the charge as it bears on religious meetings. When you have rejected the men who give vigorous support to such meetings, you have driven away the strongest of our advocates."—*Worcester Gazette.*

As the writer of that "Extract" to which the Worcester Gazette objects, allow me to reply

1. That it was part of a *private* letter written to a friend in New York, without the remotest idea of its ever being published.

2. I said nothing about "religious meetings;" that was the mistake of the transcriber or the printer. "A pro-slavery ministry, church, and religion," [not *religious meetings*,] I said, "was eating out the vitals of the Liberty party in Massachusetts," &c. The mistake is important only as it may place me, in the estimation of the Gazette and others, in the category of the no-church abolitionists; whereas, I have received no small share of abuse from that class, for defending the church and ministry as New Testament institutions.

3. I still believe that "a pro-slavery ministry, a pro-slavery church, and a pro-slavery religion," is the canker at the vitals of the Liberty party in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and elsewhere; for a large part of the Liberty party in these States support ministers and fellowship church members whom they would not trust for the office of town representative—men who elevate the wicked to places of power, and who voted for such oppressors of the poor as James K. Polk and Henry Clay. As long as Liberty men do this, their inconsistency will expose them to reproof, and deprive them of half their moral power. They cannot long continue to demand a political morality more elevated than their religion. Wo betide the day when politics become the symbol of justice, freedom, and humanity—and religion becomes the synonym of injustice and oppression. Politics and religion cannot thus be divorced. You cannot purify the one, while the other is corrupt. They must both be purified, or both be corrupt.

4. It is the appropriate work of abolitionists to purify the church as well as the state from the sin of slavery. If your remark, Mr. Editor, and that of the Worcester Gazette, be true, these abolitionists are, to a fearful extent, responsible for the pro-slavery position of the church and ministry; for in large sections of country they are the main support of these churches and ministers. Colonize the abolitionists in these churches, and you colonize the Sabbath school and the prayer meeting, and deprive the minister of his salary. It is, then, the business of abolitionists to cast out the pro-slavery spirit from the churches, and to demand and to secure a freedom-loving church and ministry. Truly yours,

S. M. BOOTH.

Will the Worcester Gazette and Western Citizen copy? S. M. B.

UTICA, *February* 10, 1847.

To the Editor of the National Era:

DEAR SIR: Many thanks to J. G. W., for the rich treat he has given me in the Autobiography of Thomas Ellwood. Perhaps I have taken a livelier interest in it than some others, being well acquainted with some of the places therein mentioned; although I am sure no one can read it without being greatly pleased and instructed.

Little was I aware, when a boy, and going regularly on the Sabbath, with our family, to Jewin Street meeting, to hear the Rev. Timothy Priestley, brother of the celebrated Joseph Priestley who died in this country, that John Milton had resided there. It is a short street, running between Aldersgate street and Broad street, Cripplegate. If Milton died in Jewin street, his friends would have had but a short distance to carry him, as Cripplegate church, where he was buried, is situated nearly at the end of Jewin street.

But, Mr. Editor, much as I have been pleased with reading the Autobiography of Ellwood, there is one paragraph of deductions of J. G. W., which I can in no wise subscribe to—nay, which I think to be utterly false. Judge, sir, of my astonishment when I read the following:

"When, with a few noble exceptions, the very Puritans of Cromwell's reign of the saints were taking profane lessons from their old enemies, and putting on an outside show of conformity for the sake of peace or pardon, YE maintained the austere dignity of virtue, and, with King, Church, and Parliament, arrayed against you, vindicated the rights of conscience, at the cost of home, fortune, and life. English Liberty owes more to your unyielding firmness than to the blows stricken for her at Naseby and Worcester."

If the above paragraph is true, then I have read in vain the accounts of that stirring period of English history, the seventeenth century. Is it indeed true, that English liberty owes more to the non-resistance of a few Quakers, than to the Puritan blows struck for her at Naseby and Worcester? Perhaps J. G. W. will please to inform us who were the Puritans who were taking "profane lessons" from their old enemies. I fancy he will find the task a good deal harder than when making the assertion.

Never was there in this world, at the same period, so noble a band of men as were the statesmen, warriors, and divines, with which Cromwell was surrounded. For chaplains, he had Owen, Goodwin, Howe, and others equally eminent for talent and piety. After his death, were these men found "taking profane lessons from their old enemies?" Did the 2,257 ministers of the gospel who were ejected from the church of England by the act of uniformity, 17th August, 1662, "take profane lessons from their old enemies, and put on a show of conformity, for the sake of place or pardon?" Never, perhaps, since the wheels of time began to move, did the world witness such a sublime spectacle as was shown by the non-conformity of these men, in leaving every thing that was valuable and dear to them in this life, and embracing poverty, stripes, prisons, and death, sooner than violate their consciences.

In regard to Cromwell's warriors and statesmen, who, I would ask, besides the "infamous Monk" and Astley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, were "taking profane lessons from their old enemies?" Others, doubtless, there were, but they were few, very few.

It required something more than the non-resistance of a few Quakers to combat and overcome that tyrant, Charles Stuart. Not by the Quakers would the trial, judgment, and execution of Charles I have been achieved. That was done by the Puritans; and in that action they reared a monumental caution to all Princes, to beware of treason against a People's liberties. And to the People it was an exemplary lesson. Nor was the lesson lost: witness the expulsion of James II. "It was an action," as Milton says, "by which they (not the Quakers) ennobled not only laws and their execution, but even justice itself; and rendered it, after so signal a judgment, more illustrious and greater than its own self."

Yours, truly, GEORGE LAWSON.

ASHBURNHAM, MASS., *March*, 1847.

To the Editor of the National Era:

SIR: I have noticed in a late number of the Era, in remarking upon the slavery clause in the Wilmot proviso, you state, and probably correctly, that the subject-matter, or the question of slavery, as applicable to new territory, which may be acquired by the three million bill, is "not settled;" that Mexican territory now free, which may be acquired by treaty, cannot by any act of Congress be made slave territory; that the requisite number (two-thirds) of the Senate cannot be obtained to sanction a treaty for new territory with slavery resting upon it; that the whole subject upon this point is still an open question, and, consequently, that the whole battle is to be re-fought at the next session of Congress, should any new territory show its head. I have not attempted to quote your language, but to give what I have understood to be the substance of your views upon the points suggested.

Now, I have no idea of getting up an *article* for the Era, as that matter may as well be left to the editor; but I want light. You speak of the Senate *ratifying* or *sanctioning* the treaty. Now, here is the whole *nub* of my inquiry; that is, what is this ratifying or sanctioning process to amount to, six or eight months (as it may happen) *after* the treaty is agreed upon on the part of Mexico and the President, or such commissioners or agents as he may appoint, the treaty signed, sealed, and delivered, by the contracting parties, California and New Mexico purchased, the *three millions paid*, the army and navy withdrawn, and the war ended? Rather late in the day, I should think, to apply the veto principle. And yet all this may, and for aught I can see will, in all probability, take place, provided a treaty is made.

But perhaps I am too fast. Let us look at the three million act, and see whether the powers granted to the President can, by possibility even, place us in this awkward predicament. What is it, substantially? Why, first, that a treaty of peace, of limits and boundaries, is desirable; and in order to accomplish it speedily, and as some indefinite and unknown exigency may possibly arise, which will require post haste a sum of money to secure the end in view, therefore, the forms of law usual in such cases are hereby dispensed with, and the sum of three millions is placed in the hands of the President, to make a treaty of peace, *including all differences, with limits and boundaries,* "to be used by him in the event that said treaty, when signed by the authorized agents of the two Governments, and duly ratified by Mexico, shall call for the expenditure of the same, or any part thereof."

Now, it may be asked, Who are the authorized agents, within the meaning of the act, on the part of this Government? Are not the President and Senate clearly in this, as in all cases where treaties are made, the "authorized" agents?

True, in a constitutional sense; but it must be borne in mind, that this is a *special act*, a new thing, a "shorter cut" of getting at the subject, than the old plodding constitutional course. Why, if a treaty was to be made, was it not made in the old-fashioned way; and if Santa Anna wanted money to close the contract, why would not a treaty, constitutionally made on our part by the President and two-thirds of the Senate, without the act in question, have bound the Government to its fulfilment, whether the sum stipulated was three or ten millions? Where was the necessity for this *extra* legislation? Simply because the *nature of the case*, as avowed and acted upon throughout, would not admit of it. Mexico *might* want the purchase money, "cash down;" hence the grant. The powers of the President were unrestricted, the mode undefined, the discretion absolute. Congress waived all claims, the Senate have parted with their power in advance. Slavery, if the President wills it, may enter to dwell where "barbarians" have once extirpated it, and all this by the votes of Northern free ——— or Government janissaries.

But it may be said, again, that though the money is paid at the signing of the treaty, this will not preclude the action of the Senate upon it six months afterwards. They may, unless slavery is ruled out, refuse to ratify it. True; and so the door may be locked after the horse is stolen. What, then, becomes of the slavery proviso?

However, I suppose the matter is all straight enough, and all these are very foolish questions. If so, a little explanation might set all right.

C. S.

PORT HOMER, O., *February*, 1847.

DR. BAILEY: Disease and death, and pecuniary losses, have prevented me from taking any active part in the useful public enterprises of the day; and now I would be regarded rather as a distant spectator than one qualified to engage actively in the contest.

I observe you have made some benevolent suggestions with regard to the Irish. The cause of the misfortunes of that unhappy people is over population, and the remedies are emigration or the restraint of increase. The latter, in the present state of intellect and public sentiment in that country, is unlikely to be adopted, unless a Father Mathew could arise, preaching temperance in the one thing absolutely necessary, as well as in the use of alcohol. Whiskey and the monopoly of the rich increased their sufferings, but the true and great cause is over population, and that is within their own control; and if he who does not provide for his own household be worse than an infidel, then is it a Christian as well as a rational duty, that we should take care not to have a household until we have the means of providing for them.

Emigration is the chief means by which we can usefully aid the Irish. To make a business of feeding them on donations is in every respect impolitic and unwise. It will, if it be pursued, destroy the industry of the people, and increase the exactions of their landlords. All experience shows that people fed on mere charity become indolent and worthless, without care or forethought, relying that the donations which saved them before, will save them again.

We have abundant lands for them, and they make in general good citizens. Their services as hired laborers while acquiring property would be useful, rather than hurtful. I would say, therefore, instead of making an organization to feed them with American bread, while they labor for English landlords, let emigration societies be got up, to bring them to this country, under agreement to repay the expense to the societies, in labor or money, to be used in bringing others in. It seems to me an organization of this kind might do much to relieve the sufferings of the Irish, without at all injuring this country; and it seems to me Irish honor would generally secure repayment to the society. Think of it.

[Our correspondent then refers to the Mexican war and the Wilmot proviso, &c., and proceeds:]

Let us not join Democrats or Whigs, but let us go for whoever goes for Wilmot's proviso, and stick to it as the great rallying point. The success of that proviso is the downfall of slavery, not present, but prospective. Free labor or slavery will triumph, as that proviso shall meet with success or defeat; and its mere passage or defeat, at present, is not the question; but the issue must be made, and carried before the people—and it can be, and triumphantly. Never was there such an opportunity to increase and assert free-labor sentiment. It would flow like a river into minds hitherto hermetically sealed, and the Representatives from the free States would acquire a firmness and boldness hitherto altogether unknown.

Almost every Representative from the North, and many from the South, would go against extending slavery; but they have been in the habit of seeing slavery conquer, and they suppose it still will. Who cannot read such men as my old friend, the Hon. J. Parish, now in Congress? His soul would rejoice at the restraint of slavery, but he is poor and ambitious, and he looks to slaveholders as the distributors of wealth, in the form of office and of honor. No one can doubt that Mr. P., unimpelled by the motives of personal wealth and honor, would be glad to see the acquired territory a home for himself and relatives and friends, rather than for masters, their overseers and slaves; but before his eyes looms up the glory which has awaited others, and he prefers himself and his family to the great multitude of his brethren. The corrective is in the *force* of the multitude, in the votes of the people. If the people neglect to use this *force*, like Mexico, they must lose territory; for *force* is the law of our existence. If slavery has the greater force, if it can give more office, more money and honor, free labor must be defeated; for although there may be, and there are, some philanthropists, they are exceptions that produce little or no influence on the general laws of force and attraction, and are not more felt than is a wandering comet, or even the floating nebula, by our planetary system.

Reported for the National Era.

BRIEF NOTICES OF CASES

ARGUED AND DECIDED IN THE

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES.

JANUARY TERM, 1847.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1847.

THE BUCKINGHAM CASE.

No. 46.

THE PRESIDENT, DIRECTORS, AND COMPANY OF THE COMMERCIAL BANK OF CINCINNATI, *Plaintiffs in Error;* THE EXECUTORS OF EUNICE BUCKINGHAM, *Defendants in Error.*

Mr. STANSBERRY, *for the Plaintiffs in Error.*

We seek, by writ of error from this court, the reversal of the judgment rendered by the supreme court of Ohio, in bank, against us, in the present case, at the December term, 1843. The original suit was an action of assumpsit, brought on the 7th of March, 1842, by the testatrix of the defendants in error, in the court of common pleas of Hamilton county, against us, on $20,000 of the paper of the Commercial Bank of Cincinnati, to recover the specie for the same, with interest, &c., thereon. The paper of the bank sued on was issued in the years 1836, 1838, 1839, and 1840. The bank first suspended specie payments on the 17th of May, 1837, and continued in a state of suspension for fifteen months, when it resumed coin payments, on the 15th of August, 1838. After twenty months' payment of coin, it again suspended on the 1st of April, 1840, and continued suspended for twenty-three months, when it resumed on the 4th of March, 1842, since which time it has not ceased to redeem on demand, in specie, all its obligations. The demand of Mrs. Buckingham was first made on the bank on the 7th of July, 1841, during the period of its second suspension. It was again made on the 5th of March, 1842, after the last resumption of specie payments, for the payment of the face of the notes, with interest at six per cent. a year from the day of suspension up to the time of the trial of the cause. There is no averment which suspension of the bank is meant. The plaintiffs in error refused to pay more than the face of the notes upon the second demand. Suit was brought against us on the 7th of March, 1842, in the court of common pleas, when the case was removed by appeal to the supreme court of Ohio, for the county of Hamilton, wherein, at the April term, 1843, it was argued, and judgment was given against us, for the payment of the principal of the notes, with interest thereon, at six per cent. a year, from the 17th of May, 1837, up to the time of trial, and also additional damages, at twelve per cent. a year, from the first demand, 7th July, 1841, up to the trial. By this judgment, the court allowed the interest upon the notes to run from the date of suspension, 17th May, 1837, when a large amount of the notes—some $9,000—was not in circulation at that time, and bore subsequent dates. The case was then taken by writ of error to the supreme court of Ohio, *in banco*, consisting of four judges, and it was argued at the December term, 1843, when, the court being divided upon the question of reversing the judgment of the court below, the judgment of the court below, by our practice, stood affirmed. So, the question stands open for the consideration of this court.

On the trial of the cause, the validity of a statute of the State of Ohio was drawn into question by the plaintiffs in error, on the ground that the said statute impaired the obligations of their charter, and was repugnant to the Constitution of the United States. The court below decided that the statute was valid, and we are here to reverse that decision.

The statute of which we deny the validity was adopted in the year 1824, and our charter was granted five years afterwards, or in the year 1829. The question is, whether the clause in the Constitution forbidding the passing of laws impairing the obligation of contracts refers to laws that have a prospective operation upon the validity of contracts. We say that the court below, by bringing in the law of 1824 to ascertain our liabilities, has modified our contract with the State of Ohio, which is to be found in the law of 1829 chartering the plaintiffs here as a banking institution, and by this modification it has impaired our contract with the State. The application of this law of 1824 has been made to extend, and not to limit, our liabilities. We are summoned before a court of justice to answer for the violation of our contract with the State; and we contend that the measure of that violation, or the punishment for it, is to be found in the charter or contract itself, and not in a general law upon the same subject, passed before our charter was granted.

The constitutional prohibition (art. I, sec. 10) is general—applies to prospective as well as retrospective legislation, and to the application by courts of justice of such laws, either prospectively or retrospectively. Our charter is a contract. Nay, it is something more than a mere contract between individuals. This is a necessary distinction in the premises. It is the key to the whole case. Our contract is made between the State, in its sovereign capacity, and a number of its citizens. It is made in the most solemn form by the legislative will of the State; and, so far as the Legislature has expressed its will upon the subject matter, the contract has the force of a law. The charter or contract defines and fixes the consequences of suspending specie payment by the banks, but does not refer to any prior law for ascertaining the pains and penalties to follow the suspension of specie payments. The act of 1829 is complete upon this point. It establishes the rate of interest which the bank shall pay to the holders of its bills and to depositors, in case of suspension of specie payments by it; and that rate is twelve per cent. per annum on the amount of money, for the time during which the payment thereof shall be refused. But what does the court do? It travels in search of an act of the Legislature made five years before our charter was granted, and by the provisions of that law of 1824 it adjudges that we shall pay, not only what our charter requires us to pay, but six per cent. per annum besides, upon the amount sued for, from the time of the first suspension up to the time of trial!

But the defendants in error assert that a contract, to be impaired by the passing of any law to that effect, must be in existence at the period of the passing of such law, or the prohibition of the Constitution will not apply. At first blush, this position seems to be a tenable one; but it is not. The prohibition against the passing of acts by the States for impairing obligations is similar to all other prohibitions in the Constitution which are not expressly limited or modified. It is a general prohibition, and includes all kinds of legislation that shall impair or can be made to impair obligations of contracts. It is a universal prohibition. It covers the whole ground, and refers not only to existing legislation, but to future legislation. When the Constitution said that no State shall make anything but gold or silver a legal tender, what did it mean to do? Did it mean that the laws of the United States which made tobacco a legal tender should exist in full force? Surely not. It swept away all laws, and all power to make laws, that should provide for any other thing to be a legal tender but gold or silver. And so of the clause prohibiting the States from exercising the power to pass any laws impairing the obligations of contracts. It was meant to apply to all laws, whether existing before or after the contract.

But we are referred to those classes of contracts that tacitly adopt laws existing before the making of such contracts. The present contract or charter does not tacitly adopt the law of 1824, prescribing the pains and penalties for suspension of specie payments, because the contract or charter is not silent upon the subject, but expressly provides for the punishment of the offending party in such an event. To apply, therefore, the law of 1824 to us for violating our contract, is a positive impairing of the obligations of our charter.

But how is the provision of the Constitution prohibiting the passing of a law by the States to impair the obligation of contracts to be enforced? There is no means pointed out in the Constitution. The prohibition does not work instantly. It is evident that a state of things must arise, in which this court must be brought to act, before the prohibition of the Constitution can be rendered effective. The general law of 1824, in Ohio, respecting banks, is in itself constitutional and proper; but it is its application to the determination of the present case, arising under a contract made in 1829 with the State of Ohio, that makes it conflict with the clause of the Constitution prohibiting the passing of laws for impairing contracts. A judicial determination in favor of the validity of a law, which, by its application, conflicts with the prohibition of the Constitution in regard to contracts, is necessary to bring the subject matter within the jurisdiction of this court. This has been done in the present cause. It is the double agency of the State Legislature in passing a law, and of the State judiciary in applying that law, so as to make it impair the obligations of a contract, that brings the subject in conflict with the prohibition of the Constitution. It is not that the terms of the law shall be against the prohibition of the Constitution, but that the effect of the law shall be.—12 Wheaton p. 596. It is not that the law, *ab origine*, should be in conflict with the prohibitory clause of the Constitution, but that its effect, from its application, should be whether the contract, upon which it is to operate, be before or after the passage of the law. Here, the law of 1824 is neither tacitly nor expressly adopted in the contract. The law of 1824 imposes the payment of interest, at the rate of six per cent. per annum, on all banks suspending specie payments. The law of 1829 fixes a new rule—payment of interest, at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum, from the time of the demand, in case of suspension of specie payments. Now, the application of the former law to the determination of the liabilities under the contract of 1829 has made the former void and unconstitutional, because its application impairs the obligations of our contract. Our obligations are fixed by our charter, not by any previous law.—1 Howard, the case of Bronson, 13 Mass. Rep., p. 1; 16 Johnson, pp. 213, 232; 4 Wheaton, pp. 123, 209; 12 Wheaton, p. 200; 4 Greenleaf, p. 576, &c.

HOW IT STRIKES A STRANGER.

BY JANE TAYLOR.

In a remote period of antiquity, when the supernatural and the marvellous obtained a readier credence than now, it was fabled that a stranger, of extraordinary appearance, was observed pacing the streets of one of the magnificent cities of the East, remarking with an eye of intelligent curiosity every surrounding object. Several individuals gathered around him, questioned him concerning his country and his business; but they presently perceived that he was unacquainted with their language, and he soon discovered himself to be equally ignorant of the most common usages of society. At the same time, the dignity and intelligence of his air and demeanor forbade the idea of his being either a barbarian or a lunatic. When, at length, he understood by their signs that they wished to be informed whence he came, he pointed with great significance to the sky; upon which the crowd, concluding him to be one of their deities, were proceeding to pay him divine honors; but he no sooner comprehended their design, than he rejected it with horror; and, bending his knees and raising his hands towards heaven in the attitude of prayer, gave them to understand that he also was a worshipper of the Powers above.

After a time, it is said that the mysterious stranger accepted the hospitalities of one of the nobles of the city, under whose roof he applied himself, with great diligence, to the acquirement of the language, in which he made such great proficiency, that in a few days he was able to hold intelligent intercourse with those around him. The noble host now resolved to take an early opportunity of satisfying his curiosity respecting the country and quality of his guest; and, upon his expressing this desire, the stranger assured him that he would answer his inquiries that evening after sunset. Accordingly, as night approached, he led him forth upon the balconies of the palace, which overlooked the wealthy and populous city. Innumerable lights, from its busy streets and splendid palaces, were now reflected in the dark bosom of its noble river, where stately vessels, laden with rich merchandise from all parts of the known world, lay anchored in the port. This was a city in which the voice of the harp and of the viol, and the sound of the millstone, were continually heard; and craftsmen of all kinds of craft were there; and the light of a candle was seen in every dwelling; and the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride were heard there. The stranger mused awhile upon the glittering scene, and listened to the confused murmur of mingling sounds. Then suddenly raising his eyes to the starry firmament, he fixed them with an expressive gaze on the beautiful evening star, which was just sinking behind a dark grove that surrounded one of the principal temples of the city. "Marvel not," said he to his host, "that I am wont to gaze with fond affection on yon silvery star. That was my home; yes, I was lately an inhabitant of that tranquil planet, whence a vein of curiosity has tempted me to wander. Often had I beheld, with wondering admiration, this brilliant world of yours, ever one of the brightest gems of our firmament; and the ardent desire I had long felt to know something of its condition was at length unexpectedly gratified. I received permission and power from above to traverse the mighty void, and to direct my course to this distant sphere. To that permission, however, one condition was annexed, to which my eagerness for the enterprise induced me hastily to consent, namely: that I must thenceforth remain an inhabitant of this strange world, and undergo all the vicissitudes to which the natives are subject. Tell me, therefore, I pray you, what is the lot of man; and explain to me, more fully than I yet understand, all that I hear and see around me."

"Truly, sir," replied the astonished noble, "although I am altogether unacquainted with the manners and customs, products and privileges of your country, yet methinks I cannot but congratulate you on your arrival in our world; especially since it has been your good fortune to alight on a part of it affording such various sources of enjoyment as this our opulent and luxurious city. And be assured it will be my pride and pleasure to introduce you to all that is most worthy the attention of such a distinguished foreigner."

Our adventurer, accordingly, was presently initiated in those arts of luxury and pleasure, which were there well understood. He was introduced by his obliging host to their public games and festivities, to their theatrical diversions and convivial assemblies; and in a short time he began to feel some relish for amusement, the meaning of which, at first, he could scarcely comprehend. The next lesson which it became desirable to impart to him, was the necessity of acquiring wealth, as the only means of obtaining pleasure—a fact which was no sooner understood by the stranger, than he gratefully accepted the offer of his friendly host, to place him in a situation in which he might amass riches. To this object he began to apply himself with diligence, and was becoming in some measure reconciled to the manners and customs of our planet, strangely as they differed from those of his own, when an incident occurred, which gave an entirely new direction to his energies.

It was but a few weeks after his arrival on our earth, when walking, in the cool of the day, with his friend, in the outskirts of the city, his attention was arrested by the appearance of a spacious enclosure near which they passed. He inquired the use to which it was appropriated.

"It is," replied the nobleman, "a place of public interment."

"I do not understand you," said the stranger.

"It is the place," repeated his friend, "where we bury our dead."

"Excuse me, sir," replied his companion, with some embarrassment, "I must trouble you to explain yourself yet further."

The nobleman repeated the information in still plainer terms.

"I am still at a loss to comprehend you perfectly," said the stranger, turning deadly pale. "This must relate to something of which I was not only totally ignorant in my own world, but of which I have as yet had no intimation in yours. I pray you, therefore, to satisfy my curiosity; for, if I have any clew to your meaning, this, surely, is a matter of more mighty concernment than any to which you have hitherto directed me."

"My good friend," replied the nobleman, "you must indeed be a novice amongst us, if you have yet to learn that we must all, sooner or later, submit to take our places in these dismal abodes; nor will I deny that it is one of the least desirable of the circumstances which appertain to our condition; for which reason, it is a matter rarely referred to in polished society—and this accounts for your being hitherto uninformed on the subject. But truly, sir, if the inhabitants of the place whence you came are not liable to any similar misfortune, I advise you to betake yourself back again with all speed; for, be assured, there is no escape here, nor could I guaranty you safety for a single hour."

"Alas!" replied the adventurer, "I must submit to the conditions of my enterprise, of which, till now, I little understood the import. But explain to me, I beseech you, something more of the nature and consequences of this wondrous metamorphosis, and tell me at what period it most commonly happens to man."

While he thus spoke, his voice faltered, and his whole frame shook violently; his countenance was pale as death, and a cold dew stood in large drops upon his forehead.

By this time his companion, finding the discourse becoming more serious than was agreeable, declared that he must refer him to the priests for further information, this subject being very much out of his province.

"How!" exclaimed the stranger. "Then I cannot have understood you. Do the priests only die? Are you not to die also?"

His friend, evading these questions, hastily conducted his importunate companion to one of their magnificent temples, where he gladly consigned him to the instruction of the priesthood.

The emotion which the stranger had betrayed, when he received the first idea of death, was yet slight, in comparison with that which he experienced as soon as he gathered from the discourses of the priests some notion of immortality, and of the alternative of happiness or misery in a future state. But this agony of mind was exchanged for transport, when he learned that, by the performance of certain conditions before death, the state of happiness might be secured. His eagerness to learn the nature of these terms excited the surprise and even the contempt of his sacred teachers. They advised him to remain satisfied for the present with the instructions he had received, and to defer the remainder of his discussion till the morrow.

"How!" exclaimed the novice, "say you not that death may come at any hour? May it not, then, come this hour? And what if it should come before I have performed these conditions? Oh! withhold not this excellent knowledge from me a single moment!"

The priests, suppressing a smile at his simplicity, then proceeded to explain their theology to their attentive auditor. But who shall describe the ecstacy of his happiness when he was given to understand that the required conditions were generally of easy and pleasant performance; and that the occasional difficulties or inconveniences which might attend them would entirely cease with the short term of his earthly existence.

"If, then, I understand you rightly," said he to his instructors, "this event which you call death, and which seems in itself strangely terrible, is most desirable and blissful. What a favor is this which is granted to me, in being sent to inhabit a planet in which I can die!"

The priests again exchanged smiles with each other, but their ridicule was wholly lost upon the enraptured stranger. When the first transports of his emotion had subsided, he began to reflect, with some uneasiness, on the time he had already lost since his arrival.

"Alas! what have I been doing!" exclaimed he. "This gold which I have been collecting, tell me, reverend priests, will it avail me anything when the thirty or forty years are expired, which, you say, I may possibly sojourn in your planet?"

"Nay," replied the priests, "but verily you will find it of excellent use so long as you remain in it."

"A very little of it shall suffice me," replied he; "for consider how soon this period will be past. What avails it what my condition may be for so short a season. I will betake myself from this hour to the grand concerns of which you have charitably informed me."

Accordingly, from that period, continues the legend, the stranger devoted himself to the performance of those conditions on which he was told his future welfare depended; but, in so doing, he had an opposition to encounter wholly unexpected, and for which he was even at a loss to account. By thus devoting his chief attention to his chief interests, he excited the surprise, the contempt, and even the enmity, of most of the inhabitants of the city, and they rarely mentioned him but with a term of reproach, which has been variously rendered in all the modern languages.

Nothing could equal the stranger's surprise at this circumstance, as well as that of his fellow-citizens appearing, generally, so extremely indifferent as they did to their own interests. That they should have so little prudence and forethought as to provide only for their necessities and pleasures for that short part of their existence in which they were to remain in this planet, he could consider only as the effect of disordered intellect; so that he even returned their incivilities to himself with affectionate expostulation, accompanied by lively emotions of compassion and amazement.

If ever he attempted for a moment to violate any of the conditions of his future happiness, he bewailed his own madness with agonizing emotion; and to all the invitations he received from others, to do anything inconsistent with his real interest, he had but one answer—"Oh!" he would say, "I am to die! I am to die!"

THE FIRST LEGISLATIVE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

At the New England Festival held in this city last winter, Mr. J. A. ROCKWELL claimed for CONNECTICUT the credit of the first Legislative Declaration of Independence, which was drawn up by Governor JONATHAN TRUMBULL. Mr. ARNOLD, a Representative from Rhode Island, immediately wrote a communication for the Intelligencer, denying the correctness of the statement, and claiming for Rhode Island the honor of first making such a declaration. As any historical question concerning the great event of the American Revolution must always be interesting, we quote from the communication the following extract:

On the 4th day of May, 1776, the General Assembly of the Colony of Rhode Island, in the most public and solemn manner, in the most clear and unequivocal language, and with a bold and independent spirit, which has ever characterized the people of that State, passed the following act of independence:

AN ACT repealing an act entitled "An act for the more effectually securing to his Majesty the allegiance of his subjects in this his colony and dominion of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations," and altering the forms of commissions of all writs and processes in the courts, and of the oath prescribed by law.

Whereas in all States existing by compact, protection and allegiance are reciprocal, the latter being only due in consequence of the former; and whereas George the Third, King of Great Britain, forgetting his dignity, regardless of the compact most solemnly entered into, ratified, and confirmed to the inhabitants of this colony by his illustrious ancestors, and till of late fully recognised by him, and entirely departing from the duties and character of a good King, instead of protecting, is endeavoring to destroy the good people of this colony, and of all the united colonies, by sending fleets and armies to America to confiscate our property, and spread fire, sword, and desolation throughout our country, in order to compel us to submit to the most debasing and detestable tyranny, whereby we are obliged by necessity, and it becomes our highest duty, to use every means with which God and nature have furnished us in the support of our invaluable privileges, to oppose that power which is exerted only for our destruction:

Be it therefore enacted by this General Assembly, and by the authority thereof it is enacted, That an act entitled "An act for the more effectual securing to his Majesty the allegiance of his subjects in this his colony and dominion of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations," be and the same is hereby repealed.

And be it further enacted by this General Assembly, and by the authority thereof it is enacted, That in all commissions for offices, civil and military, and in all writs and processes in law, whether original, judicial, or executory, civil or criminal, wherever the name and authority of the said King is made use of, the same shall be omitted, and in the room thereof the name and authority of the Governor and Company of this colony shall be substituted in the following words, to wit: The Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. That all such commissions, writs, and processes, shall be otherwise of the same form and tenor as they heretofore were; that the courts of law be no longer entitled nor considered as the King's courts; and that no instrument in writing, of any nature or kind, whether public or private, shall in the date thereof mention the year of the said King's reign: *Provided, nevertheless,* That nothing in this act contained shall render void or vitiate any commission, writ, process, or instrument, heretofore made or executed, on account of the name and authority of the said King being therein inserted.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the oaths or engagements to be administered to the officers appointed in this colony, shall be as follows, to wit:

"GENERAL OFFICERS.

"You, ———, being, by the free vote of the freemen of this colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, elected unto the place of ———, do solemnly engage to be true and faithful unto this said colony, and in your said office equal justice to do unto all persons, poor and rich, within this jurisdiction, to the utmost of your skill and ability, without partiality, according to the laws established, or that may be established, by the General Assembly of this colony, as well in matters military as civil; and this engagement you make and give upon the peril of the penalty of perjury."

From the Union.

NEW POST OFFICE REGULATIONS.

THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

We lay before our readers the new regulations which have been adopted by the Postmaster General, under the laws passed at the close of the last session of Congress. They embrace a variety of new and interesting provisions, which ought to be thoroughly understood by the people themselves, as well as by all the postmasters. The attention of this last and important class of officers throughout the country is specially invited to them.

Regulations of the Post Office Department for the enforcement of the acts of Congress of the 1st, 2d, and 3d of March, 1847.

1. All deputy postmasters are authorized to send free, through the mails, all letters and packages, not weighing over two ounces, which they may have occasion to write or send, relating to the business of their offices or of the Post Office Department, endorsing thereon "post office business," and signing their names thereto. And those whose compensation did not exceed $200 for the year ending the 30th of June, 1846, may also send free, through the mails, letters written by themselves, and receive free all written communications on their own private business, not weighing over one half once.

2. Members of Congress and delegates from Territories may send and receive free, through the mails, from thirty days before the commencement of each Congress until the meeting of the next Congress, letters and packages not exceeding two ounces in weight, and public documents not exceeding three pounds in weight. Public documents are those printed by the order of either House of Congress, and publications or books procured or purchased by Congress, of either House, for the use of members.

3. The same privilege allowed to members of Congress is extended to the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives during their official terms, which terminate with the election of their successors.

4. The privilege of the Vice President is enlarged, so that he may send and receive free public documents during his official term.

5. Persons entitled to the privilege of franking should endorse on all letters or packages weighing under two ounces, "free," and sign the same, designating the office they fill; and all public documents which exceed two ounces in weight should be designated by writing the words "public documents" on them, and signing them officially as above. The character of public documents issued from the public offices in the city of Washington, and directed to persons authorized to receive them free, may be designated by a stamp specifying the office from which they issue, and the words "public documents," or such other evidence of their character as may be agreed upon between them and the postmaster of the city of Washington. Any document folded and sealed, not having such evidence of its character on the envelope, will be rated with postage, which will be remitted by the delivering postmaster, upon satisfactory evidence that it is a public document, transmissible free through the mails to the person addressed.

6. All letters and packages from and to the heads of Departments, or the other public officers who were entitled to the franking privilege prior to the passage of the act of the 3d of March, 1845, in relation to the business of their respective offices, will be delivered to the persons addressed, without any charge of postage, as an appropriation has been made by Congress for their payment. All letters and packages issuing from the Departments should be marked on the envelope, "official business," and signed by the heads of the Departments, or under their direction, by their clerks, and by the other officers who were entitled to the franking privilege prior to the act of 1845, designating their official capacity. But such officers have not the right to send or receive free their private letters or papers.

7. All newspapers transmitted through the mail will be hereafter rated with postage, except exchange papers between the publishers of newspapers, and those franked by persons enjoying the privilege; and contractors may take newspapers out of the mail, for sale or distribution among subscribers.

8. Transient newspapers, or those not sent from the office of publication to subscribers, handbills, or circular letters printed and lithographed, not exceeding one sheet in size, will pay three cents, upon delivery at the office, and before they are put in the mails; and all such will be charged by deputy postmasters as prepaid matter in the way bills, and upon their accounts of mails sent, and stamped or marked "paid," with the name of the office from which sent.

9. Transient newspapers, handbills, or circulars, cannot be received free by deputy postmasters, under their privilege. If such should be addressed to them, it is their duty to return them to the sender, under a new cover, charged with letter postage. If deposited in a post office unsealed, addressed to deputy postmasters or others, they will not in any case be forwarded by mail, without prepayment of the postage. If sealed, they will be rated with letter postage, and forwarded in the mails.

10. Letters addressed to different persons cannot be enclosed in the some envelope or package, under a penalty of ten dollars, unless addressed to foreign countries.

11. Letters, newspapers, and packages not exceeding one ounce in weight, addressed to any officer, musician, or private, in the army of the United States in Mexico, or at any post or place on the frontier of the United States bordering on Mexico, will pass free in the mails. Each letter so addressed should specify, after the name of the person, "belonging to the army." The law will continue in force during the war with Mexico, and for three months after its termination.

12. Extra commissions allowed deputy postmasters by the order of the 9th of July, 1845, are superseded by the act of the 3d March, 1847.

13. The commissions allowed by the 24th section of the act of the 3d of March, 1845, are repealed, and other rates allowed by the 1st section of the act of the 1st of March, 1847, in lieu of them, as follows:

1. On the amount of letter postage, not exceeding $100 in any one year, 40 per cent.

2. On any sum between $100 and $400 in any year, 33⅓ per cent.

3. On any sum between $400 and $2,400 in the year, 30 per cent.

4. On any sum over $2,400 in a year, 12½ per cent.

5. On the amount of letters and packets received for distribution at offices designated by the Postmaster General for that purpose, 7 per cent.

The term letter postage includes all postages received, except those which arise from newspapers sent from the offices of the publishers to subscribers, and from pamphlets and magazines—so that all prepaid postage upon transient papers, handbills, and circulars, printed or lithographed, will be treated as letter postage in the settlements of accounts of postmasters.

6. On all sums arising from the postage on newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets, 50 per cent.

7. As the accounts of postmasters have to be settled quarterly, and their commissions allowed for that time, the postmasters will credit themselves with 40 per cent. upon the first twenty-five dollars received in the quarter, and for any sum between twenty-five dollars and one hundred dollars in the quarter, at the rate of 33⅓ per cent.; and upon any sum between one hundred and six hundred dollars received in the quarter, 20 per cent.; and on any sum over six hundred dollars received in the quarter, at the rate of 12½ per cent.

8. The commission accounts will be settled as heretofore, except that the annual compensation to which postmasters are limited will be computed for the fiscal year, commencing on the 1st of July and ending the 30th of June, and in due proportion for any period less than a year.

9. No other allowances can be made to postmasters, except box rents to an amount not exceeding $2,000 per annum, and the surplus of such receipts may be applied to the expenses of the office, under the direction of the Postmaster General. The emolument or box-rent account must be accounted for regularly in the quarterly returns, and the same quarter as other proceeds of the office.

10. Postmasters, in their returns for the present quarter, ending the 31st of March, 1847, will adjust their accounts according to the above allowances.

C. JOHNSON, *Postmaster General.*

March 12, 1847.

FREE PRODUCE STORE, Wholesale and Retail, *northwest corner of Fifth and Cherry streets, Philadelphia,* (late Joel Fisher's.) The subscriber, having procured a new stock of Dry Goods and Groceries, in addition to that purchased of Joel Fisher, all of which may be relied on as the product of *Free Labor*, now offers them for sale at the above place. He respectfully invites the patronage of those who give a preference to such goods, and of his friends and the public generally. Being the wholesale and retail agent of the Free Produce Association of Friends, and the retail agent of the American Free Produce Association, for the sale of the cotton goods manufactured by those associations, he will be prepared to furnish a greater variety of Dry Goods than has heretofore been offered at this establishment.

March 4.—1m GEORGE W. TAYLOR.

BIRNEY & BROTHER, *Wholesale and Retail Druggists, and Dealers in Paints, Oils, Varnishes, and Dye Stuffs,* corner of Lower Market and Sycamore streets, Cincinnati, O.

The above articles are of the best quality, and may be had at reasonable rates. Physicians and country merchants are invited to call and examine for themselves. Cash paid for Ginseng, Beeswax, Flaxseed, &c.

Jan. 7. D. BIRNEY. D. B. BIRNEY.

PLUMBE NATIONAL DAGUERREAN GALLERY AND PHOTOGRAPHERS' FURNISHING DEPOTS; awarded the gold and silver medals, four first premiums, and two highest honors, at the National, the Massachusetts, the New York, and Pennsylvania Exhibitions, respectively, for the most splendid colored Daguerreotypes and best apparatus ever exhibited.

Portraits taken in exquisite style, without regard to weather. Instructions given in the art.

A large assortment of apparatus and stock always on hand, at the lowest cash prices.

New York, 251 Broadway; Philadelphia, 136 Chesnut street; Boston, 75 Court and 58 Hanover streets; Baltimore, 205 Baltimore street; Washington, Pennsylvania avenue; Petersburg, Virginia, Mechanics' Hall; Cincinnati, Fourth and Walnut, and 176 Main street; Saratoga Springs, Broadway; Paris, 127 Vieille Rue du Temple; Liverpool, 32 Church street. Jan. 7.

TOOTH ACHE CURED IN ONE MINUTE, BY THE USE OF THE CLOVE ANODYNE.—This is an excellent article, and will cure the most violent tooth ache or pain in the gums in one minute. The Clove Anodyne is not unpleasant to the taste or injurious to the teeth, and will permanently cure any tooth to which it may be applied.

The following testimony, from one of our most distinguished practical Dentists, will be considered sufficient evidence of its merits:

NEW YORK, *December* 19, 1844.

Messrs. A. B. Sands & Co.:

GENTLEMEN: In the course of my practice I have extensively used, with much success, your Clove Anodyne, for the relief of the tooth ache; and, as I constantly recommend it to my patients, I deem it just to impart my satisfaction to you.

I am yours, very respectfully,

M. LEVETT, Dentist,

260 Broadway, corner of Warren street.

☞ Prepared and sold, wholesale and retail, by Henry Johnson, Druggist and Chemist, successor to A. B. Sands & Co., 273 Broadway, corner of Chambers street.

G. F. THOMAS & CO.,

147 Main street, between Third and Fourth streets,

Jan. 7. Agents for Cincinnati.

C. FOSTER & CO.—*To Printers throughout the United States:* CHARLES FOSTER, late Foreman of the Cincinnati Type Foundry, and the inventor and builder of the press called *Foster's Power Press*, now used by the Cincinnati Atlas, the Enquirer, Kendall & Barnard; also, the Frankfort Commonwealth, the Indiana State Journal, Cutler & Chamberlin, formerly State printers, Indiana, &c.; also, the press lately used to print Cassius M. Clay's paper, Lexington, Kentucky—would inform printers in the Western States and elsewhere, that, after an experience of fourteen years, he has, in connection with *Bevan, Scott, & Co.*, in the city of Cincinnati, established the manufactory of Power Presses, (being the only one west of the mountains,) Hand Presses, the Washington, Smith, and Franklin Presses, of all sizes; also, Chases, Composing Sticks, Brass Rule, Type Cases, Galleys, Card, Job, and Embossing Presses, Printers' and Bookbinders' Materials of all kinds. We will also furnish Printers' Ink, Cuts, Rules, fancy Job Type; also, Types for Newspapers, Book and Job Types, from William Hagar's Type Foundry, New York; and also Western Type, manufactured in Cincinnati.

All orders directed to Foster & Co., corner of Seventh and Smith streets, or to Shepard & Co., No. 11 Columbia street, east of Main, Cincinnati, Ohio, will receive prompt attention.

C. FOSTER & CO.

P. S. The subscribers will also furnish Castings, Steam Engines, Mill Works, Horse Powers, Threshing Machines, Screws for Hay, Lard, Tobacco, &c.; also, Straub's Patent Portable Corn and Flouring Mills, Corn Crushers and Shellers, Clark's Patent Smut Machine, with any other Machinery, built to order, on reasonable terms. Jan. 7.

CIRCULAR.—*Dr. S. Fahnestock's Vermifuge—the original and genuine article.*—For the satisfaction of my customers, and all persons interested in the sale and use of my Vermifuge, as well as in justice to myself, I feel it my duty to acquaint the public with the facts that have given name and celebrity to the justly esteemed medicine known for many years past as Fahnestock's Vermifuge.

About the year 1828 or 1829 I first came in possession of the recipe for the manufacture of this invaluable medicine. Not having then the means or prospect of promulgating it beyond the sphere of my professional duties, I, at the solicitation of a friend, consented to have the secret transmitted to a near relative, B. A. Fahnestock, Druggist, of Pittsburg. This gentleman, availing himself of the important secret, and the means of using it to his own advantage, has since that period made a monopoly of the business of manufacturing and selling what he calls B. A. Fahnestock's Vermifuge. Latterly, circumstances have induced me to commence the business myself, with a confidence based on the use of my Vermifuge, in daily practice, for upwards of fourteen years, as well as improvements in the article resulting from long experience, together with special care and personal attention to the manufacture of the medicine, which latter item I consider of the first importance to its general efficacy. The success attending my Vermifuge, after a year's trial, has fully justified my confidence in its superior quality.

I should not have considered the above statement necessary, had it not been for the recent appearance of an invidious Circular, over the signature of B. A. Fahnestock, in which, together with various insidious epithets bestowed on my personal character, and that of W. F. Moeller, my worthy partner in business, my Vermifuge is denounced as a worthless preparation. This is his own sole *ipse dixit*, in contradiction to the attestations of numerous physicians and chemists, who are competent judges of the article, and the experience of those who have used it. Therefore, regarding the disparaging statements of B. A. Fahnestock, the *onus probandi* rests with himself, and it will require an unexplored art to him to acquit himself of it. S. FAHNESTOCK.

With reference to my reputation, the following certificates will amply suffice:

State of Ohio, Montgomery County, ss:

I, William M. Smith, deputy clerk of the court of common pleas in and for said county, do hereby certify, that I am well acquainted with Dr. Samuel Fahnestock, formerly of Pennsylvania, now of Dayton, Ohio; and I hereby certify that his standing as a physician is good, and, as a citizen, his reputation is beyond reproach; and that full faith and credit should be given to any statement of his. Witness my hand, and the seal of the said county, this 3d of November, A. D. 1846.

[L. S.] WILLIAM M. SMITH,

Deputy Clerk of Common Pleas.

State of Ohio, Montgomery County, City of Dayton, ss:

I cheerfully concur in the above statement, made by the clerk as above set forth, as witness my hand and official seal of said city, this 14th day of November, 1846.

[L. S.] WILLIAM J. McKINNEY, Mayor.

The following gentlemen have certified to the correctness of the above statements:

V. Winters, Cashier Dayton Bank; P. Odlin, Esq.; John Howard, Esq.; Hon. Robert C. Schenck; G. Aughinbaugh; Major H. Gebhart; F. Gebhart, merchant; J. A. Walters, M. D.; John Rench, commission merchant; J. A. Aughinbaugh. Jan. 21.

CANCERS CURED.—*Roots Extracted without the Knife.* R. S. NEWTON, M. D., performs all operations upon Cancers, Schirrus Breasts, Indurated Tumors, Scrofula, or Ulcers, with his new discovered Remedy, which has proved to be one of the greatest discoveries of the age, and has proved itself to possess medical properties unequalled by any medicine now used or ever known by the medical profession. His method of treatment is new, safe, and peculiar, and has given him a reputation for radically curing the above diseases not equalled by any other regularly educated physician living, without the knife, as can be seen by references.

In all cases, the patient must visit me in Cincinnati, Ohio, and be under my immediate care. All communications must be addressed to Cincinnati, post paid.

CERTIFICATE.

We would just say to the afflicted, that we have been the subjects of Cancer, and pronounced incurable by some of the most eminent physicians and professors of the day, and have been radically cured by Dr. N.'s new remedies within the last five years.

NANCY GREEN, New Lisbon, O.
E. F. HARMON, Kanawha, Va.
HANNAH HEPHNER, New Lisbon, O.
JOHN LANSLEY, McConnellsville, O.
JOHN N. KERR, Gallipolis, O.
MARY STEEL, Harrisonburg, Va.

Some hundred names could be given, if called for, of those who have been cured within a few years.

REFERENCES.

Darius Davenport and Rev. W. P. Strickland, Cincinnati; W. H. Brisbane, M. D., Philadelphia, Penn.; J. W. McGuire, Jackson, Missouri; Rev. E. M. Boring, Athens, Ohio; Hon. S. F. Vinton, Gallipolis, Ohio.

Office on Sixth street, between Main and Walnut streets, Cincinnati, Ohio. Jan. 28.—6m

STANLEY MATTHEWS, *Attorney and Counsellor at Law*, Cincinnati. Office on Main street, below Columbia, over the office of the Washington Insurance Co. Jan. 7.

INSENSIBLE PERSPIRATION.—Insensible perspiration is the great *evacuation* for the impurities of the body. It will be noticed that a thick cloudy mist issues from all points of the surface of the body, which indicates that this perspiration flows uninterruptedly when we are in health, but ceases when we are sick. Life cannot be sustained without it. It is thrown off from the blood and other juices of the body, and disposes by this means of nearly all the impurities within us. The language of Scripture is, "In the *blood* is the life." If it ever becomes impure, it may be traced directly to the stoppage of the *insensible perspiration*. Thus we see, all that is necessary, when the blood is stagnant or infected, is to open the pores, and it relieves itself from all impurities instantly. Its own heat and vitality are sufficient without one particle of medicine, except to open the pores upon the surface. Thus we see the folly of taking so many internal remedies. All practitioners, however, direct their efforts to restore the insensible perspiration. The Thompsonian, for instance, *steams*, the Hydropathist shrouds us in wet blankets, the Homœpathist deals out infinitessimals, the Allopathist bleeds and doses us with mercury, and the blustering Quack gorges us with pills, pills, pills.

To give some idea of the amount of the insensible perspiration, we will state that the learned Dr. Lewenhock ascertained that five-eighths of all we receive into the stomach passed off by this means. In other words, if we eat and drink eight pounds per day, we evacuate five pounds of it by the insensible perspiration. This is none other than the used-up particles of the blood and other juices, giving place to the new and fresh ones. To check this, therefore, is to retain in the system five-eighths of all the virulent matter that nature demands should leave the body. By a sudden transition from heat to cold, the pores are stopped, the perspiration ceases, and disease begins at once to develop itself. Hence a stoppage of this flow of the juices originates so many complaints. It is stopping the pores that overwhelms mankind with coughs, colds, and consumption. Nine-tenths of the world die from diseases induced by a stoppage of the insensible perspiration. Let me ask, now, every candid mind, what course seems the most reasonable to pursue, to unstop the pores after they are closed? Would you give physic to *unstop* the pores? Or would you apply something that would do this upon the surface, where the clogging actually is? And yet I know of no physician who makes any external application to effect it. Under these circumstances, I present to physicians, and to all others, McAlister's ALL-HEALING OINTMENT, or the WORLD'S SALVE. It has power to restore perspiration on the feet, on the head, around old sores, upon the chest—in short, upon any part of the body, whether diseased slightly or severely. It has power to cause all external sores, scrofulous humors, skin diseases, and poisonous wounds, to discharge their putrid matter, and then heals them. It is a remedy that sweeps off the whole catalogue of cutaneous disorders, and restores the entire cuticle to its healthy functions. It is a remedy that forbids the necessity of so many and deleterious drugs taken into the stomach. It is a remedy that neither sickens, gives inconvenience, nor is dangerous to the intestines. It preserves and defends the surface from all derangement of its functions. The surface is the outlet of five-eighths of the bile and used-up matter within. It is pierced with millions of openings, to relieve the intestines. Stop up these pores, and death knocks at your door. It is rightly termed all-healing; for there is scarcely a disease, external or internal, that it will not benefit. I have used it for the last fourteen years for all diseases of the chest, consumption, liver, involving the utmost danger and responsibility; and I declare, before Heaven and man, that not in one single case has it failed to benefit, when the patient was within the reach of mortal means. I have had physicians learned in the profession, I have had ministers of the gospel, judges on the bench, aldermen and lawyers, gentlemen of the highest erudition, and *multitudes of the poor*, use it in every variety of way; and there has been but one voice, one united universal voice, saying, "McAlister, your ointment is *good*."

Consumption.—It can hardly be credited that a salve can have any effect upon the lungs, seated as they are within the system. But if placed upon the chest, it penetrates directly to the lungs, separates the poisonous particles that are consuming them, and expels them from the system. I need not say that it is curing persons of consumption continually, although we are told it is foolishness. I care not what is said, so long as I can cure several thousand persons yearly.

Headache.—The salve has cured persons of the headache of twelve years' standing, and who had it regularly every week, so that vomiting often took place. Deafness and earache are helped with like success.

Cold Feet.—Consumption, liver complaint, pains in the chest or side, falling off of the hair, one or the other, always accompanies cold feet. It is a sure sign of disease in the system to have cold feet. The salve will cure every case.

In *scrofula, erysipelas, salt rheum, liver complaint, sore eyes, quinsy, sore throat, bronchitis, broken or sore breast, piles,* all *chest diseases,* such as *asthma, oppression, pains;* also, *sore lips, chapped hands, tumors, cutaneous eruptions, nervous diseases,* and of the *spine*, there is probably no medicine now known so good; and as for *burns*, it has not its equal in the world.

Pimples on the Face, Masculine Skin, Gross Surface.—Its first action is to expel all humor. It will not cease drawing till the face is free from any matter that may be lodged under the skin, and frequently breaking out to the surface. It then heals. When there is nothing but grossness, or dull repulsive surface, it begins to soften and soften, until the skin becomes as smooth and delicate as a child's.

Worms.—If parents knew how fatal most medicines were to children, taken inwardly, they would be slow to resort to them, especially "mercurial lozenges," called "medicated lozenges," vermifuges, pills, &c. The truth is, no one can tell, invariably, when worms are present. Now, let me say to parents, that this salve will always tell if a child has worms. It will drive every vestige of them away. There is probably no medicine on the face of the earth at once so sure and so safe in the expulsion of worms.

Toilet.—Although I have said little about it as a hair restorative, yet I will stake it against the world. They may bring their oils, far and near, and mine will restore the hair two cases to their one.

Old Sores.—That some sores are an outlet to the impurities of the system, is because they cannot pass off through the natural channels of the insensible perspiration. If such sores are healed up, the impurities must have some other outlet, or it will endanger life. This salve will always provide for such emergencies.

Rheumatism.—It removes almost immediately the inflammation and swelling, when the pain of course ceases. In all cases of fever, the difficulty lies in the pores being locked up, so that the heat and perspiration cannot pass off. If the least moisture can be started, the crisis has passed, and the danger is over. The all-healing ointment will, in all cases of fevers, almost instantly unlock the skin, and bring forth the perspiration.

Scald Head.—We have cured cases that actually defied every thing known, as well as the ability of fifteen or twenty doctors. One man told us he had spent five hundred dollars on his children without any benefit, when a few boxes of the ointment cured them.

Corns.—Occasional use of the ointment will always keep corns from growing; people need never be troubled with them if they will use it.

As a Family Medicine, no man can measure its value. So long as the stars roll along over the heavens, so long as man treads the earth subject to all infirmities of the flesh, so long as disease and sickness is known, just so long will this good ointment be used and esteemed. When man ceases from off the earth, then the demand will cease, and not till then.

JAMES McALISTER & CO.,

Sole Proprietors of the above Medicine.

☞ Price 25 cents and 50 cents.

As the All-healing Ointment has been greatly counterfeited, we have given this caution to the public, that "no ointment will be genuine unless the names of *James McAlister*, or *James McAlister & Co.*, are WRITTEN with a PEN upon EVERY label." Now, we hereby offer a reward of five hundred dollars, to be paid on conviction, in any of the constituted courts of the United States, of any individual counterfeiting our name and ointment.

☞ To be had of ELY & CAMPBELL, Lower Market, between Main and Sycamore streets; also, of G. F. THOMAS, Main street, between Third and Fourth, Cincinnati. Jan. 7.

☞ Will the papers friendly to freedom please give the following advertisement an insertion, and oblige

BELA MARSH.

UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF SLAVERY, *by Lysander Spooner;* published by BELA MARSH, and for sale at 25 Cornhill, Boston, and at the ANTI-SLAVERY DEPOSITORY, No. 5 Spruce street, New York. Price 25 cents. Postage on the book for any distance is but 6 cents. A person remitting $1, post paid, can have four copies sent by mail. A liberal discount will be made to booksellers and agents who buy to sell again.

☞ Will the publishers of Anti-Slavery papers please to keep a supply on hand for sale?

RECOMMENDATIONS.

Mr. Garrison, disagreeing to its conclusions on the ground that the words of the Constitution do not fully express the intentions of its authors, yet says: "His logic may be faultless, as a merely logical effort. We admit Mr. Spooner's reasoning to be ingenious—perhaps, as an effort of logic, unanswerable. It impresses us as the production of a mind equally honest and acute. Its ability, and the importance of the subject on which it treats, will doubtless secure for it a wide circulation and a careful perusal."

Mr. Joshua Leavitt says: "It is unanswerable. There will never be an honest attempt to answer it. Neither priest nor politician, lawyer nor judge, will ever dare undertake to sunder that iron-linked chain of argument which runs straight through the book, from beginning to end."

Mr. Gerrit Smith, in a letter to the Liberty Press, (Utica,) says: "It is admirable. I warmly commend it to you and your readers. High as were my opinions of his ability, they are higher now that I have read his argument in favor of his position that there is no legal or constitutional slavery in this nation."

Mr. N. P. Rogers, agreeing with some of its positions, and disagreeing with others, says: "It is a splendid essay. If the talent laid out in it were laid out at the bar, it would make the author distinguished and rich. This essay should give the author a name at the Boston bar. It will at the bar of posterity."

Samuel E. Sewall, Esq., says: "It merits general attention, not merely from the importance of the subject, but from the masterly manner in which it is handled. It every where overflows with thought. We regard it as a grand arsenal of legal weapons, to be used in the great contest between Liberty and Slavery. I hope it will receive the widest circulation."

J. Fulton, jun., (Penn.,) says: "Now that I have read it, I feel bound to say that it is the most clear and luminous production that I have ever read on the subject. It begins without a line of preface, and ends without a word of apology. It is a solid mass of the most brilliant argument, unbroken, as it seems to me, by a single flaw, and treads down as dust every thing which has preceded it on that subject. Let every friend of the slave read the work without delay. I believe it is destined to give a new phase to our struggle."

Richard Hildreth, Esq., says: "No one can deny to the present work the merit of great ability and great learning. If any one wishes to see this argument handled in a masterly manner, with great clearness and plainness, and an array of constitutional learning, which, in the hands of most lawyers, would have expanded into at least three royal octavos, we commend them to Mr. Spooner's modest pamphlet of one hundred and fifty-six pages."

Elihu Burritt says: "It evinces a depth of legal erudition which would do honor to the first jurist of the age."

The True American (Cortland county, New York) says: "It is an imperishable and triumphant work—a law argument that would add to the fame of the most famed jurist, living or dead."

The Bangor Gazette says: "It is indeed a masterly argument. No one, unprejudiced, who has supposed that that instrument (the Constitution) contained guarantees of slavery, or who has had doubts upon the point, can rise from the perusal without feeling relieved from the supposition that our great national charter is one of slavery, and not of freedom. And no lawyer can read it without admiring, besides its other great excellences, the clearness of its style and its logical precision."

The Hampshire Herald (Northampton) says: "It is worthy of the most gifted intellect in the country."

The Worcester County Gazette says: "Mr. Spooner, we think, has clearly shown that it (slavery) has no constitutional foundation."

The Liberty Press (Utica) says: "The author labors to show, and does show, that slavery in this country is unconstitutional, and unsustained by law, either State or Federal."

The Granite Freeman says: "We wish every voter in the Union could have the opportunity of reading this magnificent argument. We should hear no more, after that, of the 'compromises of the Constitution,' as an argument to close the lips and palsy the hands of those who abhor slavery, and labor for its removal."

The Charter Oak says: "Of its rare merit as a controversial argument it is superfluous to speak. It may, in fact, be regarded as unanswerable; and we are persuaded that its general circulation would give a new aspect to the anti-slavery cause, by exploding the popular but mistaken notion that slavery is somehow entrenched behind the Constitution."

The Albany Patriot says: "This effort of Mr. Spooner is a remarkable one in many respects. It is unrivalled in the simplicity, clearness, and force of style with which it is executed. The argument is original, steel-ribbed, and triumphant. It bears down all opposition. Pettifogging, black-letter dullness and pedantry, special pleading and demagogism, all retire before it. If every lawyer in the country could have it put into his hands, and be induced to study it as he does his brief, it would alone overthrow slavery. There is moral firmness enough in it for that purpose."

The Chronotype calls it "one of the most magnificent constitutional arguments ever produced in any country. It needs such a work as Mr. Spooner's on constitutional law to make the Constitution of the least value to us as a shield of rights."

The Liberty Gazette (Burlington, Vermont) says: "This work cannot be too highly praised or too extensively circulated. Its reasoning is conclusive; and no one can read it without being convinced that the Constitution, instead of being the friend and protector of slavery, is a purely anti-slavery document."

The Indiana Freeman says: "Every Abolitionist should have this admirable work, and keep it in constant circulation among his neighbors."

The Worcester Ægis says: "This work is one of the ablest, perhaps *the* ablest review of all the arguments *pro* and *con*, upon the subject of slavery, that has yet emanated from the American press. No one who feels the least interest whatever in this great question should fail to possess himself of a copy."